

PEACE HANDBOOKS

VOL. IV

THE BALKAN STATES

PART II

1920



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VOL. IV.

THE BALKAN STATES

PART II.

19. MONTENEGRO

20. SERBIA

21. MACEDONIA

22. BULGARIA

23. RUMANIA

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Editorial Note.

In the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connection with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous enquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

General Editor and formerly

January 1920.

Director of the Historical Section.

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HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 19*

MONTENEGRO

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1920

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

MONTENEGRO lies between latitudes $41^{\circ} 50'$ and $43^{\circ} 35'$ north and between longitudes $18^{\circ} 20'$ and $20^{\circ} 45'$ east, and has an approximate area of 5,600 square miles.

The neighbouring states are Serbia on the north-east and east, Albania on the south, and the Austro-Hungarian territories of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia on the north and west. Montenegro has an Adriatic seaboard of about 28 miles.

The boundary, which is intricate and in parts artificial, was fixed by the Treaty of Bucarest (1913). The mountain of Lovchen (5,771 ft.), which is included in Montenegro, overlooks the Bocche di Cattaro and completely commands Cattaro and its harbour, the frontier approaching within a mile of the town. The additions of 1913 include a substantial portion of the Sanjak of Novibazar, the long-disputed districts of Plava and Gusinye, the Metoya plain as far east as the White Drin, and the district north-west of the Hotit inlet on the lake of Scutari.

The heart of Montenegro is the Black Mountain, which gives its name to the whole country. This is the plateau east of the Gulf of Cattaro, on which stands the capital Tsetinye (Cetinje). The region has a distinct individuality, and throughout maintained its independence against the Turks.

The political frontiers of Montenegro have little relation to ethnic divisions. Between the Serbs and Montenegrins there is no ethnical distinction, for they are of the same race and speak the same language.

Similarly towards Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia no clear racial boundary can be drawn, since the inhabitants of these territories are practically all Serbo-Croats. Only towards Albania can there be said to be anything like an ethnical and linguistic frontier, though this does not everywhere coincide with the political frontier. The Christians of northern Albania are also distinguished from the Montenegrins by belonging mainly to the Roman Catholic Church.

(2) SURFACE, COAST, AND RIVER SYSTEM

Surface

Montenegro is the meeting-place of the Dalmatian, the Bosnian, and the Albanian mountain systems. It falls into three main parts. The first of these is the Tsrna Gora or Black Mountain, which takes its name from the barren mass of Lovchen, and constitutes the southern portion of the kingdom. This may be regarded as a continuation of the Dalmatian coastal range. The second district is the Brda, north and east of the Zeta and west of the Tara, a larger area than Tsrna Gora itself, and connected with the Bosnian Mountains. A third region, including much of the territory added in 1913, is more closely associated with the Albanian hill country to the south. As a whole, the kingdom is wild and mountainous, yet it contains considerable variety of scenery in its bare rock, its splendid forests, its deep valleys, and fertile alluvial plains. The valleys and plains, however, cover only a small area in proportion to the mountains.

In Tsrna Gora and the Adriatic drainage area generally the important divisions are the plateau of Tsetinye, the valleys of the Moracha river and its chief affluent the Zeta, and the plain of Podgoritsa on the northern shore of Lake Scutari.

The plateau of Tsetinye, like others in Montenegro, is situated among wild limestone mountains. The valley of the Zeta, which has the most fertile ground in Montenegro, provides the main avenue of communication between the northern and southern divisions of the country, and is in consequence so important, both from an economic and military point of view, that in recent years it has even been proposed to transfer the seat of government from Tsetinye to Nikshich. The Zeta joins the Moracha just above Podgoritsa, which stands at the head of the plain bordering Lake Scutari, and is the most important road-centre in Montenegro. The plain extends along the north-eastern shore of the lake only, the opposite side being almost uniformly mountainous. Between the lake and the Adriatic lies the Sutorman range, the southernmost extension of the Dinaric Alps.

The Metoya plain falls mostly within the political limits of Montenegro, of which it forms the south-eastern portion. It is a fertile, grassy land, watered by the upper course of the White Drin, and contains the two largest towns in Montenegro, Ipek (Pech), and Jakova (Dyakovitsa).

Coast

Montenegro has a seaboard, somewhat under 30 miles in length, along the Adriatic, between Dalmatia on the north-west and Albania on the south-east. North of Dulcigno the level country by the shore is $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 miles broad, and is backed by the Sutorman Mountains, which rise in Rumiya to a height of 5,226 ft. In this section the plain is broadest behind the port of Antivari. Between Dulcigno and the mouth of the Boyana the country is level and marshy almost as far inland as Lake Scutari.

The finest natural harbour in the eastern Adriatic,

and one of the finest in the world, is the Gulf of Cattaro. This lies completely within the Austrian territory of Dalmatia, but both town and gulf are dominated by Mount Lovchen, which is in Montenegro. Cattaro, which is situated at the south-east end of the gulf, is connected with Tsetinye by a splendid military road, and is the regular port for reaching the capital, the distance being about 27 miles. Cattaro is also connected with Antivari by a coastal road past Budua and Spizza.

River and Lake System

The rivers of Montenegro fall into two groups: those which flow towards the Adriatic and those which flow into the Danube. The Boyana, which carries the overflow of Lake Scutari, the Tsrnoyevitsa, the Moracha, with its tributary the Zeta, and the Tsiyevna or Zem, which all flow into the lake, and the White Drin, of which only the upper course is Montenegrin, belong to the Adriatic group; the Piva, Tara, and Lim, all tributaries of the Drina, and the Ibar, a tributary of the Morava, to the Danubian. The watershed between the two groups is roughly the line of the Brda Mountains and the North Albanian Alps.

The bed of the Boyana, the chief navigable river of Montenegro, is much affected by silting, since it receives, through the Drinassa channel, much of the water, and consequently much of the mud, brought down from the interior by the Drin. In consequence the Boyana is not capable of carrying all the drainage of Lake Scutari, and is subject to heavy floods in winter and spring. It is nowhere fordable at any time of the year.

Between Montenegro and northern Albania, and receiving a number of the rivers of each country, lies Lake Scutari, 27 miles long and 8 miles broad, with

a superficial area of about 134 square miles. At the south-eastern end is the Albanian town of Scutari; and here the Drin approaches within 8 miles of the lake, and is connected by the Drinassa channel with the Boyana just below its effluence.

The water, except close to the shore, is clear and drinkable. The level of the lake shows a slight rise from year to year, and the improvement of the channel of the Boyana, which affords its only outlet, is very desirable. Each winter the water rises 9-10 ft., and the town of Scutari itself is sometimes flooded.

(3) CLIMATE

Montenegro consists, in unequal proportions, of mountain, valley, plain, and coast-land; and the climate varies considerably between different places. On the high mountains the snow lies for nearly the whole year; the valleys, on the other hand, have a mild climate, as has also the plain of Lake Scutari. The climate of the coast is like that of central Italy.

On the whole the climate is rather colder than that of Serbian Macedonia. Tsetinye, which stands at a height of 2,068 ft. above sea-level, has a mean temperature of 28° F. (— 2° C.) in January, rising to 71° F. (22° C.) in July. The mean for the year is 51° F. (11° C.). In winter the snow blocks the road, and sometimes makes the capital almost inaccessible. Throughout Tsrna Gora and the Brda the climate is bracing, and its effect is seen in the vigorous and hardy race which inhabits the country.

On the plain by Lake Scutari the mean monthly temperature ranges from 39° F. (4° C.) in January to 77° F. (25° C.) in July. Only at the northern end of the lake near Virbazar does ice occasionally form. Two local winds help to cool the air, the *danik*

blowing in the day from the east, and the *nochnik* in the evening from the north-west.

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

In the summer malaria is common along the coast, around Lake Scutari, and in the lower Zeta valley. The unhealthiness of the southern district is increased by the tendency of the Boyana river to overflow.

Before the war there was a small but well-equipped and well-conducted hospital at Tsetinye ; and the doctor at the head of this establishment was in charge of the health regulations of the whole kingdom.

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

There are two races in Montenegro, the Serb and the Albanian. Exact figures are impossible to obtain, but the Albanians form much the smaller part of the population ; they inhabit the district of Dulcigno, south-west of Lake Scutari, and are found in considerable numbers in the Montenegrin part of the former Sanjak of Novibazar and in the Metoya plain.

In race the Montenegrin Serbs cannot be distinguished from those of Serbia. They speak the same language and belong to the same branch of the Orthodox Church, though autocephalous and under separate organization. The Montenegrin has a rather finer physique than the neighbouring Serbian ; he is a broad-headed, dark-haired man, tall in stature, and with a dignified bearing. The people of Serbia and Montenegro recognize their close kinship with each other.

The Albanians in Montenegro have preserved their racial purity to a less degree than their kinsmen farther south. Not merely have they intermarried with the Serbs, but they have introduced many Slavonic words into their tongue, so that they would

have some difficulty in understanding the Mirdites or men of the regions farther south. They use the Latin alphabet, and those who are Christian belong to the Roman Catholic Church. The northern Albanian is a tall man, with an extremely broad or round head and an aquiline nose.

(6) POPULATION

There are no exact figures for the population of Montenegro, but the number in 1914 was probably between 400,000 and 500,000. The average density of population was estimated at not more than 70 per square mile. Austrian calculations gave 60-70 per square mile. In Tsrna Gora, and in a somewhat less degree in the Brda, the population is very scanty. The capital, Tsetinye, has a population of only 5,500. The valleys of the Zeta and lower Moracha have a relatively dense population; the plain of Spuzh on the Zeta has 25,000 inhabitants, that of Podgoritsa 22,000. The Metoya plain from Ipek to Jakova is also fairly populous; Ipek has itself 15,000 inhabitants, Jakova 20,000.

The marked increase in the population of Montenegro before 1914 was due to the accessions of territory made in 1912-13. There are no statistics to show the birth and death rates. Between 1882 and 1900, a period when there were no territorial accessions, the population increased from 230,000 to 311,000.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- c.* 1000–*c.* 1200. Kingdom of Dioklitiya (capitals Scutari and Cattaro) includes Montenegro.
- c.* 1200–*c.* 1360. Montenegro a part of a Serbian State.
- c.* 1360–1421. The Zeta (= Montenegro) an independent State (capital Scutari) under the Balsha family.
1396. Scutari sold to Venice.
1405. Scutari temporarily recovered for the Zeta.
- c.* 1427–1516. The ‘Black’ or Tsrnoyevich Princes of Montenegro (capitals Zhablyak, Tsetinye).
1479. Scutari ceded to the Turks.
1484. Tsetinye made the capital.
- 1516–1696. Elective Bishops, or *Vladikas*.
- 1696–1851. Hereditary Bishops of Petrovich family—present reigning dynasty.
1711. First connexion with Russia.
- 1782–1830. The ‘Great *Vladika*’, Peter I.
1797. Austria, obtaining Dalmatia by the Treaty of Campo Formio, becomes Montenegro’s neighbour.
1799. Turkish firman recognizes Montenegrin independence.
- 1807–13. French in the Bocche di Cattaro.
1813. Anglo-Montenegrin capture of Cattaro.
1814. Cattaro Montenegrin for 5 months.
- 1830–51. Peter II.
- 1851–60. Danilo II.
1851. Montenegro ceases to be a theocratic state.
1858. Battle of Grahovo.
1860. Danilo assassinated. Nicholas I succeeds.
1862. Turco-Montenegrin War.
- 1876–7. Turco-Montenegrin War.
1878. Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin.
1880. Dulcigno demonstration.
1896. Marriage of Princess Elena to the present King of Italy.
1905. Montenegrin Constitution.
1908. Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1910. Prince Nicholas, on his Jubilee, takes title of King.
1911. Malsori insurrection.
1912. First Balkan War.
1913. Second Balkan War. Treaty of Bucarest.

VENETIAN COLONIES IN ALBANIA

Durazzo, 1392–1501.

Alessio, 1393–1478.

Drivasto (Drishti), 1396–1419 ; 1421–3 ; 1442–78.

Scutari, 1396–1479 (except for part of 1405).

Antivari, 1421–23 ; 1444–1571.

Dulcigno, 1421–1571.

Dagno } 1444–56 ; 1458–78.
Satti }

Valona, 1690–1.

(A) INTRODUCTORY

(1) KINGDOM OF DIOKLITIYA MERGED IN SERBIA (c. 1100–1200)

THE present kingdom of Montenegro was in the Middle Ages a part of the Serbian States.¹ Originally, in the tenth and two following centuries, there were two of these, one comprising the inland district of Novibazar, the other including the South Dalmatian coast, the present Herzegovina, and modern Montenegro, then known as Dioklitiya, from the now ruined town of Doclea, near Podgoritsa. Scutari and Cattaro were the capitals of this latter State, whose rulers took the title of king, but were ultimately ousted by the less magniloquently styled great *Jupani*, or ‘counts’, of the more important inland region, then known as ‘Rascia’. Thus early, then, there were two Serb States and two rival dynasties. But, when Stéphen Nemanya created the powerful Serbian monarchy towards the end of the twelfth century,

¹ See *Serbia*, No. 20 of this series.

what is now Montenegro was included in it; indeed, his birth-place, the present Podgoritsa in Montenegro, was the nucleus of his State.

(2) PRINCIPALITY OF THE ZETA (c. 1360–1516)

Montenegro, or the Zeta, as it was then called, remained an integral part of the great Serbian State until the break-up of Stephen Dushan's vast empire after his death in 1355. The family of Balsha, formerly supposed to have been connected with the French house of Baux, but now believed to have been descended from the family of Nemanya, established themselves as independent princes there, instead of imperial Serbian governors, about 1360, governing a territory which stretched down to the Adriatic at Budua and Antivari, and which had Scutari as its capital—*principale eorum domicilium*,¹ as a document of 1369 expressly calls it. This is the basis of the present historical claim of the Montenegrins to Scutari as their old capital. In 1396, however, George II Balsha, hard pressed by the Turks, who had overthrown the Serbs at the battle of Kosovo in 1389, sold Scutari with the neighbouring castle of Drivasto (now Drishti) to Venice, then beginning her career of colonization in Albania. Venice retained Scutari, save for its momentary recapture by Balsha III, in 1405, till the Turkish capture in 1479. Upon the death of the last male Balsha in 1421 his chief towns were partitioned between Venice and the then Prince of Serbia.

A powerful local family, that of Tsrnoyevich, had already established its independence in the mountainous region round Nyegush (which about this time first began to be called Tsrna Gora in Serb and Montenegro in

¹ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium Historiam illustrantia*, i. 261–3 (Rome, 1863).

Venetian, a name connected by some, though probably incorrectly, with that of this local clan). Venice, finding this family useful in her struggle with the Balshas, paid it a subsidy, and when one of its members, Stephen Tsrnoyevich, revolted from the Serbian prince's sovereignty, about 1427, appointed him her 'captain and *voivode*' in the Zeta. In 1455 a pact was signed by Venice and the fifty-one communities which then composed Montenegro. Stephen hoisted the banner of St. Mark at Podgoritsa, and made his capital in the castle of Zhablyak, near the lake of Scutari. On his death, in 1466, his son and successor, Ivan the Black, was confirmed by Venice as her 'captain and *voivode*' in the Zeta; but when, in 1479, she had to cede Scutari to the Turks, he was obliged to move his capital to a less vulnerable position, and in 1484 founded Tsetinye (Cetinje) as his new residence. He founded, too, at Obod a printing-press for liturgical books, and from it issued in 1493 the first books printed in Slavonic. The Tsrnoyevich dynasty lasted—save for a brief Turkish annexation¹—till 1516, when the then reigning prince retired to his wife's home in Venice, after transferring the supreme power to the bishop, or *vladika*, who was assisted by a civil governor, chosen from among the headmen of the Katunska district, in which Nyegush and Tsetinye were situated. The prince-bishopric was elective, until, in 1696, the dignity became hereditary in the present royal family of Petrovich, whose ancestors, two centuries earlier, had fled for refuge from Herzegovina to Nyegush. Thus Herzegovina is King Nicholas's ancestral land, while Scutari was the capital both of the ancient kings of Dioklitiya and of the Balshas.

¹ Sanudo, *Diarii*, ii. 372, 504; xii. 153; xviii. 397.

(3) PRINCE-BISHOPS, ELECTIVE (1516-1696) AND THEN HEREDITARY

The reason for the adoption of the hereditary system was that it seemed the only way to save the country from the Turks. But, as a bishop in the Orthodox Church cannot marry, the succession passed from uncle to nephew.¹ During this period Montenegrin history is one long record of warfare with the Turks; indeed, down to the practical cessation of the Turkish peril and the substitution of the Austrian for it in Herzegovina in 1878, Montenegro was engaged in a struggle for existence against Turkey.

Nature was on the side of Montenegro, where, as has been said, 'a small army is beaten, a large one dies of starvation'; while a Homeric state of society was exactly suited to a constant state of warfare. Danilo I, the first Petrovich prince-bishop, also, by the memorable 'Montenegrin Vespers' of Christmas Eve, 1702, rid the country of the no less dangerous internal foe—the renegades. Under him, too, in 1711, began the connexion between Russia and Montenegro, with the arrival of an envoy of Peter the Great at Tsetinye in order to stir up the Montenegrins against the Turks. Danilo and every one of his six successors visited the Tsar, and he received the first of the many Russian subsidies paid to Montenegro.

(B) RECENT HISTORY

(1) FIRST CONTACT WITH EUROPE: PETER I AND II (1782-1851)

With the accession of Peter I, the 'Great *Vladika*', who reigned from 1782 to 1830, Montenegro entered

¹ There is, however, a well-accredited instance of a bishop not belonging to the Petrovitch family, in the case of Arseniye Plamenatz, before the accession of Peter I.

on a new era—that of contact with Europe. The cession of Dalmatia to Austria by the treaty of Campo Formio in 1797 made the latter Power Montenegro's neighbour, instead of the moribund Venetian Republic. The temporary French occupation of Dalmatia, which made the Bocche di Cattaro French for six years, from 1807 to 1813, brought Montenegro into conflict with the troops of Napoleon, who threatened to make it Monterosso. This was the first time that the British fleet (in 1813) aided Montenegro—in the capture of Cattaro. For five months this old Serbian city, which had been Dushan's mint, and one of the capitals of Dioklitiya, was Montenegrin. But Russia, in 1814, bade Peter I hand it back to Austria, to whom (with the rest of Dalmatia) it has since belonged, despite the Serbian character of the *Bocchesi*. Thus Austria regained the finest harbour and the best seamen in Dalmatia; Montenegro remained landlocked till 1880. To set against this, a Turkish firman of 1799 recognized that Montenegro had never been a vassal of Turkey—a very important precedent.

Montenegro was, indeed, a continual source of trouble to the Turks. Peter I waged a successful campaign against the Governor of Bosnia in 1819; and the repulse of a Turkish invasion from the side of Albania during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828–9 led to the recognition of Montenegrin sovereignty over the Piperi tribe. When, in 1830, Peter I ended his long reign of forty-eight years, he had the satisfaction of having united to his little State the three districts of the Piperi, the Kuchi, and the Biyelopavlich, so called after 'the son of Paul the White', a descendant of the famous mediaeval hero, Lek Dukajin. Not only had he nearly doubled Montenegro, but he had also given it a code, and obtained the payment of the long-discontinued Russian subsidy of 1,000 ducats, and the

delimitation of the boundary between Montenegro and her new neighbour, Austria.

Peter I, who is venerated as a saint by the pious pilgrims to his tomb in the monastery church at Tsetinye, was succeeded, according to the usual custom, by his nephew, who took the name of Peter II. The new prince-bishop, a combination of poet, historical dramatist, and statesman, not uncommon in the Petrovich dynasty, began by a series of reforms. He created a police force, founded a printing-press (the successor of that formed at Obod in 1493), established a paid permanent Senate (or *Soviet*) of twelve members and a president with deliberative and judicial functions, and divided the enlarged principality into eight districts (or *nahie*), of which the four on the other side of the Zeta valley, collectively known as the Brda (or 'mountains'), and including the three above-mentioned acquisitions of Peter I, gave to the ruler his second title. The population of the little State, thus reorganized, was estimated in 1846 at 120,000 souls. Peter II further abolished the dual system of government, which had prevailed since 1516. From that time the prince-bishop had always had at his side a lay official, known as the civil 'governor', and latterly always a member of the house of Radonich. A dispute arose between Peter and the civil governor, and the former settled the question in 1832 by decreeing the abolition of the office and the banishment of Vuko Radonich, its last holder. Thus, in Montenegro, as in Japan, the spiritual authority suppressed the temporal; and for the next twenty years Montenegro was a theocracy.

In vain the Sultan tempted the prince-bishop to recognize him as his suzerain by the offer of the city of Scutari, a frontage on the Adriatic, and a part of Herzegovina for himself and his heirs; the pride and sturdy independence of Peter II would not allow

him to accept a subordinate position such as that of Milosh in Serbia. Consequently, a fresh Turco-Montenegrin campaign took place in 1832, in which the Turks were worsted; in 1835 a body of Montenegrins seized the ancient Montenegrin capital of Zhablyak, which their ruler, however, thought it prudent to hand back to the Sultan; in 1840 a scheme for the capture of the still Turkish towns of Podgoritsa and Spuzh provoked another Turkish invasion. For several years, too, the indefinite status of the district of Grahovo on the Herzegovinian frontier involved the Montenegrins in conflicts with Turkey. A treaty signed in 1838 had declared Grahovo to be neutral territory, under an hereditary *voïvode*, confirmed in his dignity by the prince-bishop and the governors of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and this transitory state of things was continued by subsequent agreements. Finally, in 1843, the seizure by the Turks of the islands of Lessandria and Vranina in the lake of Scutari, by interfering with the fishing, severely injured the adjacent district of Montenegro.

Several years of comparative peace with Turkey followed; but a sanguinary incident caused trouble with the other great neighbour. The Pastrovich clan, inhabiting the Austrian littoral from Budua to Spizza, had sold its lands to the Montenegrins, naturally anxious for an outlet on the sea. Austria objected to this virtual occupation of her territory by her neighbours, and offered to buy out the purchasers. The valuation, however, led to a fatal collision between the Austrians and the Montenegrins in 1838; and £40,000 barely compensated the latter for the loss of this strip of coast. More serious still was the civil war, a thing almost unknown in the history of Montenegro, which broke out in 1847, owing to the attempt of the Piperi and Tsrnichka districts to secede from

a principality which was afflicted by famine. The secessionists were subdued.

Montenegro, like Serbia, was stirred by the movement of the Austrian Serbs during the revolution of 1848. Peter II offered the aid of 10,000 of his subjects to Jellachich, the *Ban* of Croatia; but the latter declined to allow the Montenegrins to take part in the civil war between Hungarians and Croats. A series of frontier skirmishes between the mountaineers and their Turkish and Albanian neighbours provided, however, that military exercise which was the chief occupation of the *Vladika's* subjects. In these circumstances Peter II died, on October 31, 1851, the last ruler of the Black Mountain who united the chief ecclesiastical and political functions in his own person.

(2) DANILO II: CHANGE OF THE THEOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT (1851-60)

The dying *Vladika* had nominated his nephew Danilo, then absent in Vienna, as his successor, charging Pero Tomaso Petrovich, President of the Senate and likewise uncle of the young heir, with the duty of governing the country till the latter could arrive. Pero was, however, acclaimed by the war-party, which wished for a vigorous policy against the Turks; and, when his nephew reached Tsetinye, he found the usurper installed in his palace. Danilo promptly appealed to the people for the execution of the late ruler's testament, and his uncle was constrained to acknowledge him as his sovereign. Instead, however, of pardoning the bellicose chiefs who had endeavoured to rob him of his heritage, Danilo warned them that he would punish their disloyalty, thus from the outset creating a party against his authority.

The new ruler began his reign by changing the theocratic system of government, which had prevailed

in Montenegro since 1516. He wanted to marry; he desired to found a family; he had no calling for an ecclesiastical life. Already the late *Vladika* had shown, by moving his residence from the monastery to the so-called 'Billiard-table', that the separation of a Montenegrin sovereign's dual attributes was impending. Danilo sent a message to the Senate proposing this change in the ancient constitution. In 1852 Montenegro was declared to be an hereditary, temporal principality; the succession to the throne was to be by order of primogeniture in the male line; and another member of the Petrovich family or of the Montenegrin aristocracy was to be appointed head of the Church.

These changes were approved by the Orthodox Tsar; Austria had already been consulted; Turkey alone resented the erection of Montenegro into a secular principality, especially as her suspicions were aroused by this practical recognition of the Tsar as patron of the newly-created Prince. Omar Pasha, the Croatian who had been in the Lebanon and in the Principalities, but was then Governor of Bosnia, tried to detach the Piperi from the rest of Montenegro by the promise of fiscal exemption and a grant of lands; a band of Montenegrins again seized the ancient capital of Zhablyak by a *coup de main*; nor did its evacuation by the prudent prince prevent the indignant Turks, anxious for war, from invading the Black Mountain. Attacked simultaneously by five separate Turkish forces, Danilo begged Austria and Russia to intervene, while he held the Turks at bay. Austria, incensed against Turkey for her recent hospitality to Polish and Hungarian refugees, played the game of Slavonic Orthodoxy by supporting Montenegro. An Austrian envoy, Count Leiningen, informed the Sultan that the Austrian Emperor was bound as a Christian sovereign to intervene

on behalf of his Christian neighbours ; the Sultan consented to desist from hostilities ; and on March 3, 1853, peace was signed on the basis of the *status quo*, after the Turks had sustained serious losses. Austria had performed a service to the little State, which twenty-five years later came to regard her as a more dangerous foe than Turkey ; and the Austrian envoy had insisted by a reference to the Turkish firman of 1799 that the Prince of Montenegro was not a vassal of the Sultan. Danilo personally thanked the Austrian emperor for his intervention ; and, peace being restored, his own marriage, and the appointment of another member of the Petrovich clan as bishop, completed the change of the ancient constitution.

From Montenegro, at the time of the Crimean War, the Tsar had strong reason to expect support. Despite the fact that one war against Turkey was barely over, a considerable party at Tsetinye, headed by Danilo's uncle, George Petrovich, was anxious for another. Danilo, however, on the advice of Austria, which had just rendered him so considerable a service, again resolutely opposed a warlike policy, at the risk of his popularity and even of his throne. He protested that he could no longer restrain his subjects ; and their discontent rose to such a pitch, that the Piperi, the Kuchi, and the Biyelopavlich districts of the Brda—comparatively recent and still unamalgamated acquisitions of the principality—proclaimed themselves, in July 1854, an independent state. Danilo was forced to take the field against his rebellious subjects ; some fled into Turkish territory, others submitted, and were made to pay an indemnity for the civil war which they had caused. But, while maintaining neutrality, the Prince thought it prudent to conciliate both his subjects and the Tsar by ordering a three days' fast for the success of the Russian arms. The Catholic Mirdites,

on the other hand, under their Prince Bib Doda, father of the late Prince, followed Omar Pasha to the Danube, as they had followed him a year before against Montenegro.

At the Treaty of Paris, in 1856, Austria, in the 14th protocol, obtained from the Russian delegates a disclaimer of any such Russian protectorate over Montenegro as the Tsar had formerly claimed to exercise over the Danubian Principalities. Mutual sympathy was declared to be the sole bond of union between the Muscovites and the mountaineers; while Ali Pasha, on behalf of Turkey, stated that the Porte regarded the Black Mountain as an 'integral part of the Ottoman Empire'. This statement, in direct violation of the firman of 1799, of the Turco-Montenegrin treaties of 1838 and 1842, and of the hard facts of many a Turkish defeat at the hands of the mountaineers, was warmly repudiated by Prince Danilo in a memorandum addressed to the signatory Powers on May 31. He pointed out with considerable exaggeration that, with more reason, he might claim 'half Albania and all Herzegovina', on the ground that the Balsha dynasty, which ruled over the Zeta in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had once possessed those lands, while the Turks had never possessed Montenegro; that 'for 466 years', that is, since the battle of Kosovo, 'the Montenegrin people had never been subjected to any Power'; that 'for four and a half centuries it had waged continual warfare with Turkey'; but that, notwithstanding these services to Christendom, Montenegro, owing to the theocratic constitution which had only recently been abolished, had never been received officially within the family of European states. The Prince claimed the official recognition of Montenegrin independence, the expansion of the Principality at the expense of Albania and Herzegovina,

the delimitation of the Turco-Montenegrin frontiers, and the concession of the town and harbour of Antivari, which his predecessor, the *Vladika* Danilo, had tried to secure a century and a half earlier, and which was a commercial necessity for a people deprived by the loss of Cattaro in 1814 of all access to the sea.

In support of these claims, Danilo, who in 1855 had married Darinka Kuechich, daughter of a Serb merchant of Trieste, visited Napoleon III in 1857. The French Emperor, who two years earlier had established a French Vice-Consulate at Tsetinye and sent thither as his representative M. Hecquard, the well-known writer on Albania, received the Prince with the honours due to an independent ruler. But the only immediate result of this visit was a Turkish offer to bestow upon the Prince a part of Herzegovina with a civil list and a Turkish title, and to open all Turkish ports to his subjects, on condition that he did homage to the Sultan as his suzerain. Danilo, who in the previous summer had refused the wish of the people of Nikshich to become his subjects, from fear of provoking a fresh war with Turkey, was disposed to accept the Turkish offer, which his warlike people considered a disgrace. Nothing eventually came of the proposal; but Danilo's unpopularity, already demonstrated by another rising of the Kuchi against his tax-collectors, increased.

Despite Danilo's efforts to maintain peace with Turkey, another Turco-Montenegrin campaign marked the year 1858. The usual frontier incidents preceded the war; one or two villages on the Adriatic coast proclaimed union with Montenegro; and a Montenegrin senator seized for a moment the coveted fortress of Spizza on the Bay of Antivari, destined to such European notoriety 20 and 50 years later. Danilo appealed to Paris, Vienna, and St. Petersburg;

a French squadron and a Russian frigate arrived off Ragusa. Meanwhile, Hussein Pasha was ordered to occupy the territory of Grahovo, which by the compromises of 1842-3 had been declared neutral. There, in two engagements on May 12 and 13, the Prince's elder brother Mirko completely routed the greatly superior Turkish force; British medals, won by the Turks before Sebastopol, went to adorn Tsetinye; and Grahovo is justly regarded as the ' Marathon of Montenegro '. The Turks withdrew; and a conference of ambassadors at Constantinople led to a rectification of the Montenegrin frontiers, by which the districts of Grahovo, with the adjacent Rudine, Zhupa, and the upper Vasoyevich, were added to the Principality.

To Danilo's reign may thus be ascribed an increase of Montenegrin territory, as well as the secularization of the theocratic government; he had introduced in 1855 a new code, which punished brigandage, even when it was justified in popular estimation by being practised against the Turks, and severely reprobated theft; he had supplemented his predecessor's corps of *perianiks*, or body-guards, by establishing a regular system of conscription and a military hierarchy; and he had established a sort of college in his own palace, where he sometimes acted as professor. But he was not popular, and he met his end (August 13, 1860) by the not unusual fate of Balkan rulers—assassination. As he left only a daughter, the succession passed, as he had arranged, to his nephew Nicholas—for Mirko, the latter's father, was regarded as too bellicose and too destitute of European culture to govern Montenegro at so critical a time. The hero of Grahovo, whom people called ' the sword of Montenegro ', patriotically stood aside in favour of his son, as nine years before he had acquiesced in the election of his younger brother, and was content to serve the new Prince as

President of the Senate, representing in his councils the old, exclusive Montenegrin spirit, which regarded with distrust French influences and European education, represented by the cultured and ambitious Princess-Dowager Darinka.

(3) TURCO-MONTENEGRIN WARS. ENLARGEMENT
OF MONTENEGRO (1860-80)

Nicholas I was not quite nineteen years old when he began his reign—the longest and most glorious enjoyed by any Montenegrin ruler. Over a young Prince, reared in her own home and educated in France, the Princess-Dowager hoped to exercise her sway; but the old Montenegrin party, which saw in the foreign marriage of the late ruler a cause of the national discontent with his rule, hastened the marriage of the new sovereign with Milena, the daughter of a native chieftain; and ere long the Princess-Dowager retired to Venice.

The Prince had been barely a year on the throne when the Herzegovinians rose once more against the Turks. The victory of their Montenegrin brethren at Grahovo had excited the Serbs of Herzegovina; and the Christians of the Sutorina, Nikshich, and other frontier districts, under the leadership of Luka Vukalovich, defeated in 1861 the troops of the redoubtable Omar Pasha. The Montenegrins were naturally filled with enthusiasm at the success of their kinsmen. But diplomatic considerations and the advice of the Powers constrained Nicholas to preserve, at the risk of his popularity at home and in the South Slavonic world, more than a strict neutrality; for, if his subjects daily joined the insurgents as volunteers, and the rumour of a violation of the Montenegrin frontier was eagerly welcomed as an excuse for war, he allowed the Turks to revictual the fortress of Nikshich by sending supplies from Albania across his own territory. None the less,

Omar Pasha, having put down the insurrection, blockaded Montenegro during the winter, and in the spring of 1862 invaded the Principality on the pretext of re-establishing order on the frontier. The Turkish plan of campaign was to take advantage of the unfavourable conformation of the little State, invading it at either end of the short Montenegrin funnel (then only 12 miles long) which connected Albania with Herzegovina, viz. through the Zeta valley and the Duga pass, while a third corps created a diversion in the Brda to the east of this passage. Although greatly outnumbered, Mirko with the Prince's father-in-law, Vukotich, held the Turks in check for two months, till they at last outflanked Vukotich, took Mirko between two fires, and compelled him to leave the fertile Zeta valley at their mercy. Montenegro was thus cut in two by the Turkish forces; but, while they ravaged the valley, Mirko reorganized the resistance in the mountains, and, when they resumed the offensive, defeated them at Zagarats and Kokoti.

Meanwhile, the Powers looked on at this unequal struggle. Omar Pasha again renewed the attack, this time along the Riyeka, which flows into the lake of Scutari. A long-disputed battle below the picturesque little town which takes its name from the river convinced the Montenegrins that further resistance was useless; and the Prince, who had providentially escaped assassination during the war, accepted the Convention of Scutari, dictated by the Turkish commander. The frontiers of 1859 and the internal administration of the Principality remained intact. Turkey allowed the Montenegrins to import and export whatever they pleased, except arms, through the haven of Antivari, and to rent agricultural lands in Turkish territory—concessions intended to remedy the two chief Montenegrin grievances, the

lack of access to the sea, and the want of arable land. In return, the mountaineers were to abstain from frontier raids, from the support of insurrections of Turkish subjects, and from erecting frontier forts.

For five years more, till his death by cholera, Mirko, the bard and warrior of the nation, remained by his son's side. These years were devoted to repairing the ravages of the war, while the Prince, in 1866, almost succeeded in achieving the greatest aim of Montenegrin policy for half a century—a seaport, Novasella near Spizza.

The insurrection in Herzegovina in 1875 was obviously bound to excite Montenegro. Even before it began, the slaughter of a band of Montenegrins by the Turks at Podgoritsa in October 1874 had provoked a protest from Prince Nicholas, to whom the Orthodox Serbs of the Herzegovinian border looked as their natural champion; but, in the first stage of the insurrection, they still wished to remain subjects of the Sultan, and, with the exception of those who inhabited the frontier districts, did not desire union with Montenegro. When, however, the insurrection was prolonged, Prince Nicholas, after sending a wily old warrior, Peko Pavlovich, to quiet the insurgents, allowed him to become one of their most active chiefs, while numbers of his subjects crossed the frontier, whence his own father-in-law directed operations. His next step was to send a memorandum to Lord Derby, the British Foreign Secretary, pointing out the 'intolerable position' in which the insurrection had placed him; nor was the advice of the Tsar and the British Government, that the Turks should placate him by the cession of a port and a little territory, adopted in time to prevent war. On July 2, 1876, he declared war on Turkey, telling his subjects that the time had come to restore the Serbian Empire, which had fallen with the first Murad and should revive with the fifth.

The Montenegrins fought with more success than their Serbian allies. The northern army, under the Prince, invaded Herzegovina, defeated the Turks at Vuchidol, and arrived within a few miles of Mostar. But the Austrian military attaché warned the Prince not to enter the Herzegovinian capital. In the south, the Montenegrins won victories at Danilovgrad and Medun. The Prince signed an armistice with the Porte on the basis of *uti possidetis*, and sent his cousin, Bozho Petrovich, to Constantinople, to negotiate peace, with instructions to ask for an increase of territory, including Spizza, then Turkish. The Porte was willing to cede Spizza, but Austria and Italy (then, as in 1913, opposed to a Serb port on the Adriatic) objected; and, as the Porte declined to give up Nikshich, the Prince prepared for a second campaign.

Before that began, Lord Salisbury at the Constantinople Conference in December 1876 in vain proposed to enlarge Montenegro by the Herzegovinian districts of Piva, Drobnjak, Banyani, and Zubci, and by the port of Spizza. At the London Conference on March 31, 1877, a rectification of the Montenegrin frontier with the freedom of the River Boyana was recommended by the Powers. This, too, was rejected by the Turks; and Russia entered the field. Five days later Montenegro followed. The Montenegrins managed to defeat the usual Turkish tactics of invading the principality simultaneously through the Duga pass on the north and the Zeta valley on the south. Thus relieved from all danger of an attack upon his capital, Prince Nicholas was able to devote his energies to the wearisome siege of Nikshich, which at last surrendered, on September 8, after having been almost continuously blockaded by insurgents or Montenegrins ever since the revolt in Herzegovina began. The fortress of Bilek speedily hoisted the white flag; the Monte-

negrins had thus conquered an important piece of the Herzegovina. But Austria and the autumn rains vetoed an advance on Trebinje and Mostar; so the mountaineers, turning back towards the sea, which it had so long been their object to reach by diplomacy, occupied Spizza, Antivari, and Dulcigno. But their advance on Scutari was (as in 1912) cut short by the news of the armistice of Adrianople on January 31, 1878.

By the Treaty of San Stefano, Montenegro was more than trebled in size, and doubled in population; she was to retain her recent conquests; Nikshich, Bilek, and Gacko in Herzegovina, Spizza, Antivari, and Dulcigno on the Adriatic, Spuzh, Podgoritsa, Plava, Gusinye, and the mediaeval Montenegrin capital of Zhablyak on the side of Albania, and Priepolye in the Sanjak of Novibazar, were included in the enlarged principality. Montenegrin independence, which had really existed for five centuries, and had been thrice acknowledged—by the Turkish firman of 1799 and by the Turco-Montenegrin treaties of 1838 and 1842—but subsequently ignored by the Turks, was formally recognized by the Sultan. By the Treaty of Berlin, however, Montenegro, though at last definitely recognized by every one as a sovereign State, had to be content with twice, instead of thrice, her original territory. She kept Nikshich, and received the districts of Piva and Banyani with the Duga pass on the side of Herzegovina, Podgoritsa, Spuzh, Zhablyak, and the towns of Gusinye and Plava with their dependent villages on that of Albania. She obtained an outlet on the sea at the Bay of Antivari, but was forced to restore Dulcigno to Turkey and to cede Spizza to Austria. The former of these grievances was redressed in 1880; the latter has never been forgotten, for the guns of what has been since 1878 the southernmost village of Dalmatia command the bay and

dominate the king's palace on the shore. Yet further to prevent Antivari from becoming a possible naval base for Russia, Article 29 provided that all Montenegrin waters should 'remain closed to the ships of war of all nations'; that the principality should have neither fleet nor naval flag; and that the maritime and sanitary police of the Montenegrin coast should be in the hands of Austria-Hungary.

These conditions remained intact for thirty-one years. No wonder Prince Nicholas was disappointed, especially as not only Spizza, which he had captured, but also Herzegovina, the cradle of his race, where he had fought successfully, was taken from him by Austria—a Power to which neither had ever belonged; while the Austrian occupation of certain points in the Sanjak of Novibazar and Austrian influence among the Catholic Albanians at Scutari completed the Austrian ring-fence round his enlarged State. Moreover, he was unable to obtain the two Albanian districts of Gusinye and Plava, which had been assigned to him at Berlin. Their inhabitants were first-class fighting men, who cared for neither the Congress nor the Sultan, and objected to having their homes and themselves transferred without their consent to another State, which, being admittedly better governed than their own, might interfere with their time-honoured privileges of lawlessness. The fact that the Gusinyiotes could almost all speak Serb and were converts from Orthodoxy to Islam only increased the hostility between them and their Montenegrin neighbours, while the alleged 'pagan' origin of the dwellers by the lake of Plava may account for their fierce defiance of both Turkish officials and Montenegrin braves.

The Sultan's first envoy, sent to induce the Albanians to obey the orders of the Berlin Congress, was Mehemet

Ali, one of the Turkish plenipotentiaries; but the Arnauts set fire to his house at Jakova and murdered him as he fled from the blazing building in September 1878. A second emissary failed to make them yield. Accordingly, in 1879 hostilities broke out between them and the Montenegrins; and the 'Albanian League', which had been formed to combat the Treaty of San Stefano, was revived, probably at the suggestion, certainly to the satisfaction, of the Porte, which was thus able to make the national sentiment of a race that had had no separate existence since the days of Skanderbeg, and no great local leader since Ali of Yanina, an excuse for not carrying out its inconvenient engagements. A compromise, suggested by Count Corti, the Italian ambassador at Constantinople, according to which Montenegro should receive instead of the towns of Gusinye and Plava a portion only of the former district and a larger strip of territory between Podgoritsa and the lake of Scutari, was accepted on April 12, 1880, but proved incapable of execution, owing to the opposition of the Albanians, who in this district are Roman Catholics.

Meanwhile, Gladstone had returned to power, and his Montenegrin sympathies facilitated a solution. A conference of the Powers was held in June at Berlin to consider how to secure the performance by Turkey of the unfulfilled engagements made two years before. It proposed, in lieu of Count Corti's scheme, that Montenegro should receive the town of Dulcigno and a strip of seaboard as far as the River Boyana. This proposal the Porte refused to accept, on the ground that Dulcigno contained a Moslem population; and it secretly urged the Albanians to resist its cession. Thereupon a naval demonstration of the Powers was held in September before the old Venetian colony, while Montenegrin troops approached it by land. As the

Porte still held out, and the admirals were anxious not to bombard the town, this existence of *Dulcigno far niente*, as Beust wittily called it, might have continued indefinitely, had not the British Government suggested the seizure of the rich custom-house at Smyrna. The mere suggestion had the desired effect; Dervish Pasha, the Turkish commander, drove out the Albanians; and at last, on November 26, the Montenegrins peaceably occupied Dulcigno. Prince Nicholas publicly expressed his gratitude to Great Britain.

Dulcigno is, however, an apple of discord between the Albanians and the Slavs. The latter have not developed it; indeed, it is a mere open roadstead, and the neighbouring bay of Val di Noce has never been exploited. But, at any rate, if Montenegro still lacked a good harbour, if her haven of Antivari was till 1909 still bound by Austrian fetters, she had a seaboard of 30 miles. Even after 1880, there were disputes about the Montenegrin frontier. In 1883 the four Catholic Albanian tribes of Kastrati, Hoti, Gruda, and Skreli formed a bond to oppose its definite delimitation; and even in 1911 there were still two undefined points—near Grahovo on the Herzegovinian side, and at Muzechka on the Albanian. To the unscientific and unethnological character of this latter frontier were due most of the Albanian incidents of the next three decades, which alone interrupted the longest period of peace that Montenegro had ever enjoyed.

(4) PEACEFUL INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT (1880–1912)

Prince Nicholas was occupied, after the definite enlargement of his principality in 1880, with the problem of adapting a Homeric state of society, where fighting had been the main occupation of the men for nearly five centuries, to the changed requirements of a modern community. Excellent roads were made;

trade was encouraged, tobacco cultivated, and each mountaineer ordered to plant a vine. A public library, a museum, and a theatre, increased the intellectual resources of the little capital. In 1888 a new code, the work of M. Bogoshich, was promulgated. Meanwhile, the highlanders had kept their hands in by repeated brushes with the Albanians on the frontier; and in 1895 the Prince made the experiment of a standing army. Famines continued, however, to tax the resources of the country; and many Montenegrins emigrated to Serbia.

The mountain principality, so long cut off from the world, became much more closely connected with western Europe in 1896. On October 24 of that year, the Prince's fourth daughter, Elena, married the heir to the Italian throne, who four years later became King of Italy. Two other Montenegrin princesses had married Russians, and another a Battenberg. The Prince assumed the title of 'King' at his jubilee in 1910.

In 1905 he issued two edicts, announcing the grant of parliamentary institutions and liberty of the press. The example of Russia, the growing desire of those young Montenegrins who had been educated at Belgrade to have a share in the government of their country, and the reflection that the change, if inevitable, had better be made in his own lifetime rather than in that of his much less experienced successor, doubtless influenced so shrewd a ruler as Prince Nicholas in his decision.

The first general election under the new constitution¹ was held in November 1905. On December 19 the first Montenegrin Parliament met; the old ministers who had so long executed their master's edicts resigned, and a Ministry of younger men took their places. So far, however, parliamentary government has not been

¹ See p. 36.

a success. Until the appointment of M. Tomanovich as Premier in 1907 Cabinet crises were frequent ; a group of Socialists has made its appearance ; the country has been divided into factions ; and an over-centralized bureaucracy, which became unpopular, was created in place of the Prince's personal government. Already, at the general election of 1907, feeling ran so high that the office of a Radical journal was wrecked ; the Radicals refused to take part in the voting, and all the deputies elected were consequently Conservatives. Then came the discovery of bombs alleged to have come from Serbia. Montenegrin ex-ministers were prosecuted ; the democratic ex-Premier, M. Radovich, was sent to prison at Podgoritsa ; and accusations were made against the Serbian Government of complicity in a plot against Prince Nicholas, probably hatched by Austria. These events led to a rupture of diplomatic relations between the two sister-States.

Another influence which tended to modernize Montenegro was that of the emigrants who returned from the United States. This was a comparatively new feature in the social life of the Black Mountain, whose sons, if they emigrated, usually went, till recently, to some other part of the Near East. It was calculated that there were before the war some 30,000 Montenegrins in America ; and their country was thus drained of its young men. These emigrants, on their return, like the 'intellectuals' whom the Government sent to study abroad, were apt to become discontented with their highland home. Nor is it safe for a small, poor State to allow foreigners, and those mainly of one nationality (in this case the Italian), to conduct its chief commercial enterprises. Commercially Montenegro became almost an Italian colony, run by one man of business. Italians managed the tobacco monopoly ; they conducted, under the Montenegrin

flag, the navigation on the lake of Scutari; they controlled the Marconi station at the haven of Antivari. No wonder that this system of foreign concessions, perhaps inevitable in a country where capital was scarce, caused some to raise the cry of 'Montenegro for the Montenegrins'. Still, despite these disadvantages of progress, the country reaped advantages also. Since 1906 it has had its own coinage, based on the silver unit, called a *perper*. As a natural corollary, a bank was founded. A railway was inaugurated in 1908, which connects Virbazar on the lake of Scutari with the harbour of Antivari; a motor-service joined the capital with Cattaro and Podgoritsa.

✕ The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 aroused violent resentment in Montenegro, which was eager for a fight. Prince Nicholas announced that, if the Austrian annexation were allowed, he would consider himself released from the restrictions imposed by Article 29 of the Berlin Treaty upon the Bay of Antivari. Early in 1909, however, as the reward of his acquiescence in the annexation, that article was considerably modified. The clause prohibiting Montenegro from having either ships or flag of war was suppressed; the port of Antivari was no longer closed to the warships of other nations, although it was to retain its purely commercial character; and the rest of this article was entirely cancelled. Thus Montenegro might thenceforth erect fortifications between the lake of Scutari and the coast; her maritime and sanitary police was no longer entrusted to Austrian boats, nor was she forced to adopt the Dalmatian maritime code. Still the Bay of Antivari was dominated by the guns of Spizza, and an Austrian fleet could enter it.

(5) THE BALKAN WARS OF 1912-13

Montenegro was the first of the four Balkan allies to begin the Balkan War of 1912. So early as the outbreak of the Italo-Turkish War in the autumn of 1911, Montenegro had submitted a plan for their joint mobilization; and negotiations went on in the Hofburg itself between Bulgaria and King Nicholas, then on a visit to Vienna. The Crown Prince Danilo visited Sofia, and matters were arranged with Bulgaria; but it was not till September 1912 that a Serbo-Montenegrin treaty was signed, providing 'for separate military action', so that 'no Turkish town or village was to be occupied jointly by Serbian and Montenegrin troops'.

Meanwhile, in August 1912, a symptom of the coming storm manifested itself in sanguinary incidents on the Montenegrin frontier, causing the Turkish minister to leave Tsetinye; and there were massacres at Berane in the adjacent Sanjak of Novibazar. On October 8 Montenegro, which alone of the allies had claimed a rectification of frontier, declared war; and next day, Prince Peter, the King's youngest son, fired the first shot in the Balkan War. The Montenegrins took Dechich, Rogany, and Tuzi on the north of the lake of Scutari, entered the Sanjak, and captured Biyelopolye and Berane. Plava and Gusinye, the recalcitrant towns of 1878, and Ipek, the former seat of the Serbian Patriarch, were still greater acquisitions; but Scutari, the main object of the Montenegrins, still held out. When the second armistice was signed at Bulair on April 19, 1913, it accordingly did not include Montenegro, for King Nicholas was resolved not to be baulked of that prize. The Powers warned the King that, even if he succeeded in capturing Scutari, he would not be allowed to retain it, as it was destined by them to form part of the new Albanian State. A naval demonstration of all the

Powers except Russia was held off Antivari on April 5, under the command of Admiral Burney. Heedless of the Admiral's note, the King telegraphed that the siege would 'be continued'; and on April 22 Scutari suddenly surrendered. Thus, for the first time since 1405, the old capital of the Zeta was again Montenegrin.

Next day, Count Berchtold, the Austrian Foreign Minister, addressed a vehement circular to the Powers.¹ Meanwhile, the Crown Prince Danilo entered the old residence of the Balshas in state, and a Montenegrin governor was appointed. The Powers, however, maintained their decision; ² and on May 4 the King drafted a telegram to Sir E. Grey, in which, after reaffirming his historical claim, he 'placed the destiny of Scutari in the hands of the Powers'.³ On May 14 their Admirals entered the town; ⁴ and Admiral Burney became president of a provisional administration, which extended within a radius of six miles. On July 15, 1913, the Montenegrin troops evacuated San Giovanni di Medua.

Although Montenegro was not directly interested in Macedonia, she participated actively in the second Balkan War by the side of Serbia, and naturally was a party to the third Treaty of Bucarest, signed August 10, 1913. On November 4 a definite arrangement was made with Serbia regarding their now common frontier. Nearly half the Sanjak of Novibazar, including Plevlye, Biyelopolye and Berane, and (in 'Old' Serbia) Jakova, the historic monastery of Dechani, and Ipek (Pech), the seat of the mediaeval Serbian Patriarchate, fell to the share of Montenegro, whose area was then calculated at 16,000 sq. kilometres, with a total population of nearly half a million.

¹ Austrian Red Book (*Diplomatische Aktenstücke betreffend die Ereignisse am Balkan*), pp. 235-6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 248.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

(a) *The Orthodox Church*

THE majority of the Montenegrins belong to the Orthodox Church, which, in Montenegro, is nominally independent, but, like everything else, really depends upon the King, who appoints the bishops. Orthodox Montenegro has three dioceses: Tsetinye (of which there is a Metropolitan), Ostrog, and Ipek (Pech) in the new territory, the seat of the old Serbian Patriarchate. There are very few monks. The parish clergy are only distinguished from the laity by their beards. They wear the national dress, carry arms, fight in wars, and live the ordinary life of the peasants.

(b) *The Roman Catholic Church*

The head of this is the Archbishop of Antivari—a very ancient see. The present holder, Mgr. Dobrechich, is the first Montenegrin ever appointed to that position; and his election, strongly opposed by Austria-Hungary, was a political victory for Montenegro. A concordat was signed in 1886 between Montenegro and the Holy See; and in 1902 Leo XIII allowed the then Archbishop of Antivari and his successors to use the title of ‘Primate of Serbia’. This title is, however, purely formal, and no mention was made of it in the Serbian concordat of 1914.

In the new territories acquired by Montenegro in 1913, there were 9,783 Catholics, viz. in the district of Jakova (Dyakovitsa) 6,039, and in that of Ipek 3,744.

The number of Catholics in the old territory is estimated at about 15,000. The archbishop is assisted in administering the Church by a committee of Catholic notables.

(c) *Moslems*

These are estimated to be 25,000 in the old, and 80,000 in the new territory. They are mostly Albanians. They have their Mufti, who, like the Orthodox Metropolitan and the Roman Catholic Archbishop, is an *ex officio* member of the Skupshtina.

(2) POLITICAL

The Constitution of 1905—a lengthy document of 222 articles—was borrowed from Serbian sources, especially the Serbian Constitution of 1889. The Prince continued to represent the State in all its foreign relations; primogeniture in the male line was declared to be the law of the succession to the throne; the Senate was preserved; the country was divided into departments (*oblasti*), districts (*capitanie*), and communes (*opshtine*); the Orthodox Church was proclaimed autocephalous, and all other cults free; a free press and free compulsory elementary education, a Council of State of six, and a Court of Accounts of three members formed parts of the charter. A National Assembly (*Narodna Skupshtina*), partly elected by universal suffrage, and partly composed of *ex officio* nominees of the Prince, was to meet annually on October 31. This body, the term of which was four years, was composed of sixty-two members elected by the fifty-six districts and the six towns, and of fourteen nominated or *ex officio* members, viz. the Metropolitan, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Antivari, the Mohammedan Mufti, the six Councillors of State, the presidents of the Grand Tribunal and of the Court

of Accounts, and the three brigadiers. Deputies must be at least 30 years of age and pay 15 kronen in taxes annually.

(3) PUBLIC EDUCATION

In Montenegro the theory of public education is apt to differ from the practice. Theoretically and by law, elementary education is compulsory and free. In all the towns and villages there are elementary schools for boys, and in the towns for girls, to which girls from the neighbouring villages can also resort. Practically, however, there is little education for girls; and the older generation of Montenegrins is also largely illiterate. The elementary school curriculum is the same as in most European countries. There are also gymnasia at Tsetinye, Podgoritsa, and Ipek, consisting respectively of eight, two, and four classes; and there is a theological seminary for Orthodox priests at Tsetinye. Religious instruction in the public schools is given to the Orthodox pupils by either the ordinary masters or the Orthodox priests, to the Roman Catholic pupils by the Roman Catholic priests alone, and to the young Moslems exclusively by the Moslem priests. There is a State agricultural college at Podgoritsa, from which lecturers go on circuit.

Down to 1913 there existed at the capital an excellent institute for girls, maintained by the Russian Government. So much appreciated was this by the Serbs of Cattaro, that their daughters came up to Tsetinye to be educated there. When, however, Russia quarrelled with Montenegro, a boycott was organized against this foreign institution, which was accordingly closed, after a long career of usefulness, in the course of which it had set a very high standard of cleanliness and sanitation, as well as of education.

Those Montenegrins who sought higher education

usually studied at the University of Belgrade ; and the political aspirations which they acquired in the Belgrade cafés have had a great effect upon Montenegrin politics of late years. After the war, the return of emigrants from the United States will doubtless lead to a demand for more education ; and they have already diffused English fairly widely in a country where, twenty years ago, it was unknown. Many Montenegrins also speak Italian well.

(4) GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

In Montenegro, theory and practice are far apart, and the chief result of the Constitution so far has been to create a very highly centralized bureaucracy, and to foment party strife. Contact with the United States (whither there has been a large emigration of late years) and contact with Serbia, especially since the two Serb States have been conterminous, have led the Montenegrins to make comparisons not to the advantage of their own country ; and a movement for the abdication of King Nicholas, so as to unite the two countries under the Karageorgevich dynasty, was publicly started by M. A. Radovich, the ex-Premier, during his tenure of the Premiership in 1917.

The conference of Jugo-Slav delegates held at Geneva in 1918¹ discussed the relation of Montenegro to the new Jugo-Slav State ; and a specially summoned Skupshchina deposed the King and declared for the incorporation of Montenegro in that State. This decision has, however, been challenged on constitutional grounds.

¹ See *The Jugo-Slav Movement*, No. 14 of this series, p. 29.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) INTERNAL

(a) Roads

ONE of the greatest obstacles to the development of Montenegro has always been the insufficiency of its internal communications. Before 1914, the whole of the north and the new district of the east, which includes the important towns of Ipek and Jakova, were without motor roads, and almost entirely without carriage and cart roads. Podgoritsa alone was well supplied with motor roads, which connected it with the sea through Cattaro and Antivari, and with the interior of the country as far as Nikshich and Kolashin.

Improvements undertaken with the support of the Government loan of 1910 were resumed after the Balkan War, and communications were pushed forward between Jakova and Ipek, and between Ipek and Old Montenegro. Since the outbreak of the European War the work has been taken in hand by the Austrian Government, and the roads are now kept in good repair and much used by motor traffic.

In 1914 there were less than 300 kilometres of good roads, of which the following were the most important :

1. Cattaro to Tsetinye (Cetinje, 42½ km.).—The Bohemian firm, Laurin & Klement, had acquired the right of running a post and passenger service of motor-buses between these towns. . On this road horse-drawn wagons can take loads varying from 1½ to 3 tons, according to the state of the surface and the time of

the year. Caravans of goods go three times a week from Cattaro to Tsetinye, taking two days for the journey. Transport charges are very high. In the winter the road sometimes becomes impassable.

2. *Tsetinye to Riyeka and Podgoritsa* (36 km.).—This road, over which Laurin & Klement also ran a service of motor-buses, is suitable for heavy traffic. The Cattaro–Tsetinye–Podgoritsa road is the most important highway in the country for trade with Austria.

3. *Podgoritsa to Nikshich* (54½ km.).—A good motor road, and the principal highway for the distribution of goods to the east-central district.

4. *Dulcigno to Antivari* (30 km.).—A good motor road, which joins the Antivari–Riyeka road 1½ km. beyond Old Antivari.

5. *Antivari to Virbazar and Riyeka* (30 km.).—This road joins the Tsetinye–Podgoritsa road at Riyeka.

6. *Podgoritsa to Plavnitsa* (20 km.).—This road was in good condition in 1915.

7. *Podgoritsa to Matishevo and Kolashin* (56 km.).—In 1915 this road was out of order, some of the bridges having been washed away.

8. *Matishevo to Andrijevitsa* (24 km.).—A good road, providing a link between eastern Montenegro and Podgoritsa. Andrijevitsa is soon to be connected with Berane and Ipek by tram (1918).

9. *Plevlje* has a good military road leading to Sarajevo, but very little of it lies within Montenegrin territory.

The other Montenegrin roads are very unreliable. Some sections are fit for wheeled traffic, while others are only suitable for pack-horses or are mere tracks.

Besides those already mentioned as being in process of construction, several new roads had been projected before the war. There would, however, be little purpose in enumerating them, as all plans for the improvement

of Montenegrin communications will have to be modified in view of the work done by the Austrian authorities.

(b) Rivers and Lake Ports

The only important navigable river in Montenegro is the Boyana, which forms the southern part of the boundary between Montenegro and Albania, a fact detrimental to its commercial utility, since there are perennial feuds between the Montenegrins and Albanians. The Boyana is the outlet for Lake Scutari. Its depth in its course of 25 miles along the Montenegrin frontier is 4-5 metres. Navigation is rendered difficult by continual silting of the channel and changing of the banks, and, owing to the raising of the bed by deposits, the river is liable to flood. The fall of the river-bed is generally about 1 in 1,000, but occasionally there are strong currents, and in winter its stream sometimes flows at 7 to 8 knots. The river mouth is wide, but divided into numerous channels, those towards the western or Montenegrin side being the deepest. The Montenegrin stretch of the Boyana can take vessels of 150 tons, and in time of flood these can go as far as Scutari. There is, however, a bar at the mouth of the river, and ships drawing 5 ft. have to plough through the sand.

The deepening of the bed of the Boyana and the regulation of its drainage have long been recognized as essential to its development as one of the chief highways of Montenegrin trade. The work of deepening had already been begun by 1915. The value of this work will be much increased on the completion of the Podgoritsa-Plavnitsa railway, now in course of construction.

The vessels plying on the Boyana were Italian steamers of the Puglia line, Austrian Lloyd steamers, small

Montenegrin steamers, and small local craft of various kinds.

The other rivers of Montenegro are unsuitable for navigation except the Tsrnoyevitsa, which, for most of its extent, is really an arm of Lake Scutari, running inland from the north-west corner of the lake. A navigable channel has been cut as far as Riyeka ($7\frac{1}{2}$ km.), which lies in a fertile district, and is important as a road-centre. At the head of this channel there is room for steamers to turn, and a dry dock, a quay, and a warehouse have been built, though these are some distance from the town. Goods for Tsetinye are forwarded from here by motor.

The other ports of Lake Scutari are Virbazar and Plavnitsa.

Virbazar stands at the head of a small gulf on the north-western side of the lake. A channel, 900 metres long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres deep, has been cut to the quay along which the railway from Antivari runs. The quay is 50 metres long, and 2 metres above the water level, and possesses a warehouse and a hand crane, capable of lifting 3 metric tons; a basin to provide berthing accommodation has been excavated opposite. At the station there are locomotive and repairing works for the use of the railway and the steamer service. Communication with Virbazar by water is liable to interruption in winter owing to frost.

Plavnitsa stands on the river of the same name, at a little distance from the northern shore of Lake Scutari. It has been described as a quay in the mud. The shore is low and marshy, so that vessels must lie nearly 2 km. out. From the quay to the village there is a line for trucks, which are pushed by hand, but this cannot be used in wet weather.

It was part of the original plans of the company which owned the lake steamers to prolong the Podgoritsa-

Plavnitsa road down to the lake, to make a good landing-stage at the end, and to cut a channel from the landing-stage into deep water; but the work, though begun, was never finished. On the completion of the railway to Podgoritsa (see p. 45) the importance of Plavnitsa should, however, be greatly increased. In 1911 the goods imported by the Boyana-Scutari-Plavnitsa route amounted to 1,194,230 kg., all of Austrian origin. In 1912, owing to the Balkan War, the total fell by more than a half.

The lake steamers, which used to ply in connexion with the Antivari-Virbazar railway, belonged to the Compagnia di Antivari (see p. 44). In 1914, when three steamers were working, there was a daily service between Virbazar and Riyeka, Virbazar and Plavnitsa, and Plavnitsa and Scutari. In that year two more steamers of 60 tons each were ordered, but in November 1915 it was reported that none of the lake steamers were serviceable. The company also possessed a number of lighters, one of 200 tons and ten of 40 tons each.

Flat-bottomed boats called *londras* are also used on the lake for the conveyance of both passengers and goods.

The depth of the lake ranges from 7 to 23 ft. Its waters are usually calm, except in winter, when there are sudden fierce storms.

(c) Railways

Railway system.—Before the war the only railway in Montenegro was the Antivari-Virbazar line, the length of which is 42 km. It was constructed on the Pendel system, and opened on January 1, 1909. It has a single track of a gauge of 0.76 metre (2 ft. 6 in.). There is one tunnel, 1,300 metres in length, and two large bridges. There are a number of severe gradients, some

of 1 in 25 and for short stretches even steeper. Curves have a minimum radius of 30 metres. A report of 1915 gives the rolling stock as 10 engines, 10 passenger coaches, and 50 trucks. The average quantity of goods dealt with daily was 135 tons.

The *Deutsche Levante Zeitung* of January 1, 1918, stated that a cable railway for goods had been constructed between Tsetinye and Cattaro. The same authority announced that a line between Plavnitsa and Podgoritsa was being constructed. It was expected that this would be finished during 1918.

Relations to Government.—The Antivari-Virbazar railway is held under concession from the Montenegrin Government by the Compagnia di Antivari, a Venetian company, to which in 1906 the Montenegrin Government leased for fifty years the exclusive right to construct and work a railway from Antivari to Virbazar, supply a service of lake steamers, and reconstruct the old harbour at Antivari.

Finance.—The capital of the Compagnia di Antivari was 3,000,000 francs, a sum which was generally considered to be inadequate. The State guaranteed a sum not exceeding 50,000 francs towards interest on the capital. The balance of receipts, after payment of expenses, etc., was to be divided equally between the company and the State. The initial expenses were unexpectedly great, and the first stone breakwater built at Antivari was washed away. Moreover, the company had to compete with the powerful and wealthy Austrian Lloyd. In consequence, notwithstanding strong support from the Banca Commerciale and other Italian undertakings, the first results of the enterprise were disappointing. According to report, no dividends had been paid up to 1912, and there was in that year a deficiency of 277,739 francs. This, however, was entered in the balance-sheet as initial expenses, there

being good hope of success in the future. It is officially stated that the capital of the company has been increased to 10,000,000 francs.

Adequacy to economic needs ; possibilities of development.—The existing railways are far from adequate to the needs of the country. Before the war several new lines had been projected :

(a) Antivari to San Giovanni di Medua. For some time it was hoped that Antivari would be the terminus of the proposed Danube-Adriatic railway, but before the war it had become probable that the choice would fall on the Albanian port of San Giovanni di Medua. The construction of a line from this town to Antivari—an easy undertaking—was accordingly under consideration.

(b) In 1909, at the instance of the promoters of the Salonika-Dedeagach railway, a survey was made of a suggested route from Vrania in Serbia, through Mitrovitsa, Ipek, Jakova, and Scutari, to San Giovanni di Medua. Considerable preparations have already been made for the construction of the line from Ipek to Mitrovitsa. This would give Montenegro direct railway communication with Salonika.

(c) Another route suggested would connect Dulcigno and Nish, *via* Antivari, Podgoritsa, and Mitrovitsa. This, however, has not yet been seriously considered.

While the realization of the projects mentioned would certainly benefit the country, which can never properly develop in its present isolated position, it is held by eminent authorities that owing to its mountainous character, the immediate interests of Montenegro would be better served by the construction of motor roads. Except in certain parts of the east, the laying of railways would necessitate much blasting and the building of innumerable bridges. There are already regular motor services between Podgoritsa and Cattaro,

and Podgoritsa and Plavnitsa ; and the development of this means of transport would probably be more attractive than railway enterprise to foreign capital.

(d) *Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones*

Montenegro is a member of the International Postal Union. At Bucarest in 1913 a postal union on a penny postage basis was resolved upon between Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece, details of which were to be arranged later.

In 1910 there were only 21 post-offices in Montenegro, but within the next two or three years the number had risen to 56.

Postal traffic between Cattaro, Tsetinye, Riyeka, and Podgoritsa is included in the motor-bus services of Laurin & Klement (see above, p. 39), who are subsidized by both the Austrian and the Montenegrin Governments for postal work. The postal service in the new districts of Montenegro is dependent on springless wagons running between Ipek and Mitrovitsa.

In 1910 there were 23 telegraph offices and 530 miles of wire. A little later the number of telegraph offices had risen to 55, with 2,000 miles of wire.

Telephones have been installed at Tsetinye. The stations on the Antivari-Virbazar railway are connected by telephone, and each has telephonic communication with the management at Antivari.

(2) EXTERNAL

(a) Ports

Accommodation.—Montenegro has two small sea-ports, Antivari and Dulcigno. Of these Antivari is much the more important. The new harbour-works begun in 1906 by the Compagnia di Antivari are not

yet finished, but the new free port was formally opened in 1909. At first the free port was no more successful than the railway, but during and after the Balkan wars its trade increased rapidly.

The water off Antivari is deep, and when the works are completed the harbour will be an excellent one. Before the war a breakwater had been built, running north-east from Cape Volovitsa for a distance of 300 metres. It was provided with railway lines and berthing accommodation for two vessels of 3,000–4,000 tons. This breakwater affords protection from the strong westerly winds to which the bay is exposed. A second breakwater, which is under construction, runs west from the northern end of the harbour. When it is completed there will be an opening, 250 yds. wide and facing north, between the two breakwaters. There will be 175 acres of water in the completed harbour, which will be capable of accommodating more than 200 large vessels.

The port is provided with docks, three warehouses, a custom-house, a hospital, and a dispensary. The harbour is lighted by electricity and connected by telephone with Virbazar. The Compagnia di Antivari built residences for its staff and a large hotel for tourists who, however, did not come in the numbers expected.

The port of Dulcigno is an open roadstead, 10 to 12 fathoms in depth, much exposed to westerly winds, and liable to silt. The town does a little shipbuilding.

Nature and Volume of Trade.—In 1912, 394 steamers, with a total tonnage of 195,717, entered Antivari. In 1914, 672 steamers entered, their tonnage being 251,234; 403 of these, with a tonnage of 98,223, were Austro-Hungarian.

In the last years before the war, the import trade of Antivari was steadily increasing, and although the port was blockaded by the Powers in April and May

1913, the imports for that year were almost as large as those of 1912. Figures are as follows :

| | | | | | <i>Metric tons imported.</i> |
|------|---|---|---|---|------------------------------|
| 1911 | . | . | . | . | 24,000 |
| 1912 | . | . | . | . | 27,800 |
| 1913 | . | . | . | . | 27,500 |

In 1913 the distribution of this trade among the shipping of the various States was as follows :

| <i>Nationality of ships.</i> | | | | | <i>Metric tons carried.</i> |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|---|-----------------------------|
| Italian | . | . | . | . | 13,650 |
| Austrian | . | . | . | . | 6,019 |
| Hungarian | . | . | . | . | 4,350 |
| Greek | . | . | . | . | 3,500 |

The trade of Dulcigno is much smaller. In 1912, 181 steamers, with a tonnage of 81,326, entered the port ; and from February 1913 to February 1914, 349 steamers entered, their tonnage being 92,777. Of these 307 (68,548 tons) were Austro-Hungarian, and 42 (24,229 tons) Italian. In 1913 imports amounted to only 350 metric tons, of which 267 came in Austro-Hungarian bottoms and 83 in Italian.

Adequacy to economic needs ; possibilities of development.—The commerce of Montenegro is limited, and likely so to remain, until the country is relieved of its present isolation by the opening up of internal communications, whereby closer economic relations with the adjoining Serbian lands may be established, or at least adequate facilities for transit trade provided. As it is, the execution of the original plans for the construction of the port at Antivari would undoubtedly suffice for the country's present shipping requirements. The port of Dulcigno would be greatly improved by the construction of breakwaters and by regular dredging operations, but such expenditure would only be worth while if the navigability of the Boyana were improved and Dulcigno became its port.

If through navigation to Scutari by the Boyana were made practicable, and if Scutari were in Montenegrin hands, a good deal of trade would probably be diverted to that route, and Dulcigno would become important as the port for trans-shipment from sea to river vessels.

At present Dulcigno is much isolated, having a good motor road in one direction only—to Antivari. Moreover, the land between Dulcigno and the Boyana mouth is marshy. Its drainage was entrusted to Bravi, Masini, Plata & Co., an Italian company, but in 1914 lack of capital had brought their work to a standstill, although little more than one-tenth of the land had been reclaimed. The completion of this undertaking would doubtless increase the business at the port, which is the natural outlet for the district.

(b) *Shipping Lines*

According to the Austrian consular report for 1914, the Ungaro-Croata line called at "Antivari" six times a week, the Austrian Lloyd twice a week, and the two Italian lines, the Puglia and the Servizi Marittimi, called ten times a week.

(c) *Wireless Communication*

There were two wireless stations in Montenegro—one at Antivari, capable of sending messages to Bari, the other at Podgoritsa, capable of communication with the Eiffel Tower. The station at Podgoritsa was destroyed in 1915.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) LABOUR

(a) *Labour Supply: Emigration and Immigration*

In spite of the sparseness of the population there was considerable emigration before the Balkan Wars. That

this was not due solely to the almost total lack of industrial enterprise at home is clear from a British Board of Trade report of 1910, which, referring to the construction of Antivari port, stated that labour in Montenegro was 'scarce and inefficient'. Certainly the Italians, who managed almost the whole of the industrial enterprise of the country, seem chiefly to have employed foreigners. Soldierly prejudice, the pride of land-proprietorship, and the low standard of comfort prevailing in the country make the Montenegrin slow to offer himself in the home industrial market. As an emigrant, removed from these deterrent influences, he does better.

In 1905, 6,674 Montenegrins emigrated, 4,346 in 1906. These figures seem to represent high-water mark; the usual number each year is about 2,000, most of whom go to Alaska, and some to the mining-camps of Colorado. There was also a small flow of emigration to the ports of Dalmatia, where employment was to be found. Although many emigrants returned for the Balkan War, and through the Treaties of Bucarest and London the labour strength of the country was augmented by the acquisition of districts which were comparatively thickly populated, emigration recommenced immediately, not only from old Montenegro, but also on a large scale from the newly-won territory. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the mortality since the outbreak of the European War has been very great; and it may therefore be reasonably expected that there will be a considerable shortage of labour in the country when peace is re-established.

There is no immigration into Montenegro. The foreigners residing in the country are for the most part the members of the diplomatic corps, the officials of the Compagnia di Antivari (an Italian enterprise,

see above, p. 44), and a few physicians and teachers. There were resident in the country also before the war a certain number of Italians employed in connexion with the tobacco monopoly, and Austrian employees of the five branches of Austrian banks. In addition there were the staffs of a Dutch firm at Virbazar and an English firm at Podgoritsa.

(b) *Labour Conditions*

As the chief industries of Montenegro are stock-raising and agriculture, and the land is nearly all in the hands of peasant proprietors with small holdings, there is very little occasion for the employment of hired labour. The Concessions Law of 1911 made concessions contingent upon the employment of a percentage of native labour, and provided for the establishment of workmen's banks and for the technical instruction of young employees, but the measure is so recent and concessions are so rare that no data as to its working are available.

Many young men have of recent years received a college education at Government expense, but the possibilities open to them in Montenegro were so few that they were beginning to form a class of malcontents amongst whom there was a rapid spread of extreme Jugo-Slav aspirations. Discontent arising from unemployment in Montenegro appears to have been limited to this class of State-educated young men, who, it may be noted, were forbidden to fight in the European War, so that they should have no opportunity of spreading their anti-dynastic views.

No reliable information is available as to the rate of wages; it is only possible to say that, when hired labour is employed, which is seldom, the wage is very low.

(2) AGRICULTURE

(a) Products of Commercial Value

Vegetable Products.—The chief crop is maize, which is the staple product of both the old and the new territories. Wheat, barley, oats, and rye are also grown. In Old Montenegro about 10,920 hectares were normally devoted to the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, peas, beans, and cabbage. No information is available as to the area under maize, but as a rule it is considerably in excess of the total area devoted to other corn crops. The same is true of the new territory; in the fertile plains of the Metoya maize is almost the only cereal grown.

In 1913, owing to the war, some of the fields were left uncultivated, for the women, who could otherwise have done the work, were employed in carrying food and munitions for the soldiers. Whereas in 1912 30,412 hectares¹ were under cultivation, in 1913 there were only 26,856. These were distributed as follows:

| <i>District.</i> | <i>Hectares.</i> |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| Nikshich | 7,234 |
| Zetsko-Brdski | 7,081 |
| Katunsko-Riyetski | 5,201 |
| Vasoyevitsi | 3,771 |
| Tsrmnitsa-Primorye | 3,567 |

Tobacco is widely grown, especially in the districts of Lyeskopolye, Krayina, Podgoritsa, Dulcigno, Tsrmnitsa, and Zeta. In 1912 the crop amounted to 800,000 kg., and in 1913 to 300,000 kg. This decrease was due to the war, women as well as men being pressed into the Government service. Montenegrin tobacco is said to be quite equal in flavour to Turkish. Macedonian tobacco has been grown, but has not met with favour, as the leaf weighs less than the Montenegrin.

¹ 1 hectare = 2.47 acres.

Seed from Trebinje has also been tried, but the result is unknown.

With the exception of the crop of the newly-acquired province of Ipek, all the tobacco grown is bought by the Regia Co-interessata dei Tabacchi del Montenegro, which obtained from the Montenegrin Government a concession for twenty-five years of the monopoly of the manufacture, purchase, and sale of tobacco, the Government, however, having the right of redemption at the end of fifteen years on payment to the company of a sum equal to its net profits for a period of three years. The company has a large and flourishing factory at Podgoritsa and a distributing business at Antivari. It buys tobacco at about 90 centimes per kg., a price fixed by agreement between the State and the company. In 1907 it manufactured 550,000 lb. of tobacco; cigarettes of good quality are also made. The company usually supplies the whole of the native demand (which for the size of the country is large), and has a little left over for export. In spite of the monopoly, the retail prices are not exorbitant.

The chief vine-growing districts are the Zeta plain, the Tsrmnitsa valley (which gives its name to a wine), the coastal region, and the neighbourhood of Ipek. The vines are in general free from the disease of phylloxera, which is prevalent in Mediterranean countries, but their cultivation has greatly declined in recent years, the decrease being traceable partly to the introduction of Greek wines into the country, partly to a tax imposed since 1910 on all wines and spirits consumed within the country. In 1908, 25,000 hectolitres of wine were produced, but in 1912 only 3,292, on account of blight among the vines. Wine-pressing is done in primitive style, and without regard to the ripeness of the grapes; and the flavour is not improved by the custom of transporting

the wine in goatskins. The Tsrnitsa region produces wine which resembles Tuscan, being ruby-coloured and of good flavour. Podgoritsa and the Primorye produce an inferior wine, rich in alcohol and extractive matter, but weak in acidity and perfume. Danilovgrad has a State fruit-tree school where young vines of good stock can be bought, but the price is said to be almost prohibitive.

Olives are a valuable product of the south-west and the Tsrnitsa region. In 1913 there were 100,000 trees in the district of Antivari and 70,000 in that of Dulcigno, not including those belonging to the Church and the Court. In 1913 the harvest amounted to 430,000 kg.

The Antivari district has eight olive mills and presses fitted with machinery of the most modern kind. The Dulcigno district has six mills, with older installations. In 1913 the Antivari district produced 3,000,000 kg. of oil, and the Dulcigno district 350,000 kg. The wholesale price is from 1.20 to 1.30 francs per kg. The quality of the olives is apt to be damaged by oil-flies and summer rain.

The small plum is used to make the native alcoholic beverage, *sljiva* or *slivnitsa*, of which 1,000 hectolitres were produced in 1912.

Pomegranates and quinces are of excellent flavour, and are exported to Albania. The production of quinces averages about 160,000 kg., that of pomegranates about 171,000 kg. Quince and pomegranate syrup is of excellent quality, and is exported for preserves.

Figs, pears, and peaches are also grown, chiefly in the south-west, and there is a mulberry nursery at Orioluka.

Figs, grape-husks, small plums, and mulberries are used to make *raki*, the native brandy; in 1908

5,033 hectolitres were produced, but since then the manufacture has declined. *Linsura*, a native *apéritif*, is also made. The total manufacture of spirits in 1912 was from 3,000 to 4,000 hectolitres, and the total production of fruit in 1913 was about 88,000,000 kg.

Other crops are potatoes, beans, and peas, grown for home use by the small peasant proprietors, sumach, used for dyes (formerly a product of considerable value, but of less importance in recent years), chrysanthemums, grown for export, and pyrethrums, grown for the sake of an insecticide powder which is prepared from them.

Animal Products.—In the industries of the country the rearing of live-stock takes the first place. It has, however, declined very considerably of late years in Old Montenegro, as will be seen from the following tables :

| | Head. |
|----------------|-----------|
| 1887 | 1,062,430 |
| 1903 | 930,860 |
| 1904 | 878,647 |
| 1912 | 873,036 |
| 1913 | 791,059 |

The 1913 figures were made up as follows :

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| Sheep | 640,066 |
| Goats | 3,500 |
| Horned cattle | 93,471 |
| Horses, mules, asses | 20,018 |
| Pigs | 34,004 |

The decrease in comparison with 1912 was as follows :

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| Sheep and goats | 66,269 |
| Horned cattle | 9,266 |
| Horses, mules, asses | 2,122 |
| Pigs | 4,310 |

The decline in live-stock was in 1913 largely due to war requisitions, but in the preceding years it had

already made itself evident; it is traceable to lack of initiative in the improvement of stocks. The Government established a model stock-breeding farm near Danilovgrad, and provided it with sheep, cattle, and asses, some of the cattle being of the Wippthal breed, imported from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The farm, however, was not large enough to produce a widespread effect.

The horned Montenegrin sheep gives 1-1½ kg. of wool, its wool being three times as thick as that of the Negretti sheep. Sheep-shearing takes place at the end of May. The sheep of the new territory, which numbered 800,000 in 1913, are of superior quality to the Old Montenegrin breed.

Goats are chiefly found in the Zeta and Vasoyevitsi regions.

The native ox is of Illyrian stock, rather under middle size, but healthy and hardy. An ox in Montenegro is worth normally from 100 to 150 francs, and beef sells at about 1 franc per kg. A cow yields on an average about 1,500 litres of milk a year.

The new territory had in 1913 about 130,000 cattle, which were already being exported from Antivari. In race and size they surpass the breed of the old territories. Buffaloes are also bred in the new territory.

The epizootic diseases to which cattle are liable are confined to the lower districts. The Government provides a staff of veterinary surgeons to combat these diseases.

Pigs are of a cross breed, the original Montenegrin pig having been crossed with the Yorkshire and Berkshire breeds. Pig-rearing is not done on a large scale, but every peasant has his pig, the price being about 1.20 to 1.40 francs per kg., live weight.

The horses are degenerate Arabs, small, but enduring. They are worth about 300 to 500 francs each.

There is not a single tannery in the country, and the by-products of the slaughter of animals, such as horns, are largely wasted, though some export trade is done in butcher's offal. Sausages are unknown. Butter is rarely made, native butter costing 3 francs per kg. There is no cheese factory, but cheese is made by the peasants, the price being 1·80 francs per kg.

Poultry are kept chiefly for home use. There is a small export of eggs to the Bocche di Cattaro.

Montenegro is very well adapted for bee-keeping, owing to the abundance of aromatic plants in the undergrowth of the chalk hills. The industry, however, has declined since the imposition of a tax of 30 centimes per hive. In 1910 there were 38,870 bee-hives, but in 1913 only 22,690. The wax is chiefly consumed in the country, but a little is exported over the frontiers at an average price of 3 francs per kg. Honey, too, was formerly exported, but of recent years it has all been consumed in the country.

Silk-worms are reared in the coastal and Scutari districts and in the Zeta plains. The estimated annual value is about 50,000 francs, and about one-third of the cocoons are exported; the native-grown silk is used for the home manufacture of half-silk shirts.

(b) Methods of Cultivation

Throughout Montenegro the methods of cultivation are primitive. In some districts the land is watered by hand before ploughing. The ploughs used are of antiquated make, constructed almost entirely of wood; they do not plough deep, but merely scratch the surface, which is very stony. Harrows also are primitive. Artificial manuring is unknown.

Attempts have been made by the Government in recent years to improve agricultural methods by (1) the establishment of a State mortgage bank, from

which the small landowners can borrow money at a comparatively low rate of interest instead of at the extortionate rates which have prevailed in the past ; (2) the foundation of an agricultural college at Podgoritsa, from which itinerant lecturers travel round the country ; (3) the admission of seed and agricultural implements free of import duty ; (4) the establishment of a model farm near Danilovgrad.

(c) *Forestry*

The northern and north-western regions are well wooded, and the Brda especially is rich in virgin forests of beech, fir, and pine. In the new territory there are said to be large forests, centuries old, but definite information about these is lacking.

In many parts great damage has been done to the forests by the browsing of goats. For this reason goat-keeping is now forbidden in the Antivari district ; but in the poverty-stricken district of Tsrna Gora it has not been thought advisable to enforce such a measure, and in this part there is very little forest left. Wherever the forests border on inhabited districts the trees are very wastefully used for fuel.

The Government appointed a commission to inquire into possible methods of exploiting the Montenegrin forests, but its work has as yet borne no fruit.

There are two small saw-mills. One, on the River Tara near Kolashin, is worked by a 12 horse-power motor, and produces annually about 4,000 cubic metres of fir and pine, the whole being sold at Podgoritsa, where it realizes about 300,000 francs. The other, at Podgoritsa, is worked by steam, and produces 800-1,000 cubic metres a year, most of this being disposed of locally.

(d) Land Tenure

Most of the land is owned by the peasants, there being from 50,000 to 60,000 hereditary holdings. These as a rule consist of about one hectare of arable, one or two hectares of meadow, and fifteen hectares of pasture.

The communes own certain forests and pasture-lands, for the use of which they have the right to grant concessions.

Up to 1913 very little land was owned by the State, but after the Balkan War the Montenegrin Government succeeded that of Turkey as owner of large areas of forest and other land in the territories annexed. In these regions, moreover, much land was being left without owners by the emigration of Mohammedan landholders. It was the intention of the Montenegrin Government to plant colonies in the new territories, but their plans were first delayed by financial difficulties and then interrupted by the European War.

No foreigner may hold land in Montenegro without permission of the Government.

(3) FISHERIES

An important and characteristic industry is the scoranza fishery. The *scoranza*, a kind of sardine, is caught in large quantities in Lake Scutari in spring. It is smoked and salted, and exported to Dalmatia, Italy, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and, during the Orthodox fast, to Serbia. The price is from 30 to 40 paras¹ per kg., according to quality, and the annual income from this source is about £4,000. In recent years the scales of the scoranza have been exported to Italy, where they are made into imitation tortoise-shell. Carp and eels are also caught in the lake and sold locally.

¹ 100 paras = 1 krun = 1 franc.

Fishing in Lake Scutari is the privilege of the Tseclin family, numbering some 2,000 to 2,500 persons, who share amongst them the yearly profits. The divided ownership of the lake between two States is, however, prejudicial to the development of its fisheries.

River fishing is entirely free, and is carried on without any system. Salmon-trout are very numerous in the rivers Zeta and Moracha; they often weigh as much as 12 kg. each.

(4) MINERALS

An elaborate mining law was promulgated in 1911, but very little mining has so far been done, owing to lack of capital. There is considerable divergence of opinion as to the mineral resources of the country. Even where promising deposits have been traced, there has seldom been any effort to estimate their value.

Bituminous coal occurs to the east of Nikshich. The field is thought to be about a hundred square miles in extent, and to contain workable seams of fair quality. The Lim valley is reported to have coal, and there is also a deposit in the Berane district on the Albanian frontier, east of Podgoritsa. This deposit has a seam $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, and is stated to be of good quality. The presence of lignite has been reported at Velestevo, 10 miles north of Tsetinye.

In the mountains of the Brda and in the Albanian Alps there are slates, sandstones, and clays, which may contain minerals. Between Kolashin and Andriyevitsa, on the Bach hill, patches of white quartz occur frequently, and it is considered that gold may exist in these. In the Durmitor district some iron-stone has been found.

At Rudnido, south by east of Tsrkvitsa in the Piva region, there are red-coloured lime and pyrites.

In the west of Montenegro red earth occurs, and

at Izvor in the Bukovitsa range, north-east of Cattaro, there are traces of iron in decomposed rock. The rest of the Bukovitsa region, however, is limestone.

In southern Montenegro there is some promise of asphalt and oil. At Plocha, on the right bank of the Tsrnoyevitsa, is a deposit of asphaltic bituminous shale. Asphalt is also found at Gradats, between Riyeka and Podgoritsa. Near Zlatitsa, in the region of the middle Moracha, there is bituminous sandstone with a tarry exudation. At Bukovits, about 5 miles west by south of Virbazar, petroleum occurs in the broken strata, and forms a regular pool. A concession for the exploitation of this was granted to a Dutch firm, but so far little work has been done. Salt is found in the slate near at hand, and the chances of finding more deposits of petroleum are considered to be very favourable.

In the Sutorman Pass signs of copper have been found, but the ore is pronounced to be of no commercial value. Between the Sutorman Pass and Antivari there are iron deposits, and in the same neighbourhood phosphates have also been found. Near the village of Lishtats, about 11 miles north of Podgoritsa, large gypsum crystals exist, and sandstone which contains pyrites.

(5) MANUFACTURES

There is a cloth factory at Nikshich and a carpet factory at Jakova. In the Vasoyevitsi, where the best wool is obtained, coarse woollen and linen goods are made on the looms of the peasants. In Podgoritsa and the coast districts, the weaving of half-silk materials for shirts is also a domestic industry. The national dress is made at home, but its manufacture is declining, as it is less worn than formerly, and its importation from abroad, formerly prohibited, is now permitted.

There are two breweries at Nikshich. One of these, the 'Onogost', which has a capital of 250,000 francs, produces beer to a value of about 90,000 francs a year. In 1911 its output was 4,600 hectolitres, and in 1912 4,000. It has a depot in Plevlye. The other brewery, the 'Trebyesa', is said to be larger. Its capital is 240,000 francs, and in 1914 it produced 9,500 hectolitres. Hops and malt are imported from Austria. The retail price of beer, which bears both a communal and a State consumption tax, is normally 64–80 centimes a litre.

There is a very small domestic production of wrought silver, but, apart from the spinning and weaving mentioned above, there is little home industry in Montenegro, the women being mainly employed in agricultural work.

(6) POWER

There were two electric works in Montenegro. One was at Tsetinye, established in 1910 by Kraus, a Trieste firm, with a capital of 400,000 francs. It had two Diesel engines. The current was used for lighting only. The other concern is at Antivari, and was set up by the Compagnia di Antivari for the lighting of the harbour works.

In 1911 a scheme was put forward by A. Deshkovich, a Croatian company-promoter, for the development of water-power in two localities—on the River Tara, near Kolashin, from which 80,000 horse-power was expected, and on the Moracha near Podgoritsa. The power obtained was to be used for working an iron deposit near Antivari, and for exploiting a large body of phosphates, whence a chemical fertilizer was to be derived. It is said that a concession was granted, but the capital was not raised, and the concession may therefore have lapsed.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

(a) *Principal Branches of Trade*

The poverty of the country, its scanty intercourse with countries in a more advanced state of civilization, and its backwardness in education, combine to keep the standard of comfort low ; hence the internal trade is extremely small, and chiefly consists in the local distribution of imports from abroad, and of the tobacco and beer produced within the country.

(b) *Towns¹ and Markets*

Tsetinye (*Cetinje*), the capital, lies in a basin surrounded by a desolate region of bare limestone mountains. It was chosen for its inaccessibility, and is less important commercially than Podgoritsa and Antivari. It has good road communication with Cattaro and Podgoritsa.

Podgoritsa, the commercial capital, lies in the fertile basin of the River Moracha. It does a lively trade in agricultural produce and live-stock with Cattaro through Tsetinye. It is also the centre of the tobacco industry. But for its geographical position, which was dangerously near the frontier, it would have been made the capital.

Nikshich is an important road centre for communication with the little-developed north-western districts. It has a small cloth factory and two breweries.

Kolashin is a road centre for the middle part of the country. If the Brda forests were exploited, Kolashin would obtain a thriving timber industry. It has one of the two small saw-mills in the kingdom.

¹ For the lake ports of Rijeka, Virbazar, and Plavnitsa, see p. 42 ; and for the sea-ports of Antivari and Dulcigno, see p. 46.

Andrijevitsa is important as a road centre between the east and the west, connecting new with old Montenegro.

Danilovgrad is a new town near Ostrog, which is the seat of a famous monastery visited yearly by thousands of pilgrims. The Government model stock farm and fruit nursery is near the town.

Ipek (Pech) is the most important, though not the most populous, town in the new territory. Its importance lies in its position, for, when the roads are developed, it will serve as the connecting link in through-trade between Montenegro and Serbia. With the development of internal communications is bound up its almost certain future as a thriving market town for the agricultural produce of a fertile district. The population is largely Mohammedan.

Jakova (Dyakovitsa), the chief town of the southern part of the new territory, has a larger population than any other town in the country, and stands in a fertile district, where there is said to be iron. It has no good road in any direction; with improved communications it would no doubt become a market for agricultural produce. The construction of a good road to Scutari and the regulation of the Boyana river would give it an outlet to the sea and provide a nearer and cheaper way of obtaining imports.

(c) *Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

The only native organizations of this kind are the small agricultural unions formed for the purpose of obtaining import facilities, etc.

A German-Serbian-Montenegrin Association was to have been formed in 1914, with offices in Belgrade and Berlin, with the object of fostering German trade with Montenegro and Serbia.

(d) Foreign Interests

All important industrial and commercial enterprise in Montenegro is in the hands of foreign firms. Of the more important, several have already been mentioned, such as the Compagnia di Antivari (p. 44), Bravi, Masini, Plata & Co. (p. 49), Laurin & Klement (p. 39), and the Tobacco Monopoly (p. 53). Another notable firm is the Società Commerciale d'Oriente, a concern dealing in food-stuffs, oil, candles, and soap, which had a house at Antivari and agents at Podgoritsa, and was anxious to develop its business in the new territory; one of its directors was G. Volpi, president of the Compagnia di Antivari. Mention may also be made of Hammer & Thomson, an English firm established at Podgoritsa, who deal in hides and were seeking to establish a transit trade in live cattle from Serbia to Malta.

Before the war, Italian interests predominated in the commercial life of the country. Italian imports were rapidly increasing. Austria, on the other hand, was losing ground, the most important undertakings in Austrian hands being the passenger and mail service from Cattaro to Podgoritsa, and the electricity works at Tsetinye. There were also five branches of Austrian banks in the country, and just before the war the Banca Adriatica di Trieste succeeded in obtaining a preponderating influence in the Banca Narodna, a private enterprise initiated by a Croat of Austrian nationality. This, however, was little to set against the important undertakings under the control of Italians.

At the outbreak of the war, French capitalists were beginning to turn their attention to Montenegro, but any schemes they had formed were nipped in the bud. It should be noted that Russian capital has never

been invested in the country, though Montenegro received valuable financial aid from Russia in the form of subsidies for the royal family, grants for educational or military institutions, and charitable gifts for providing food and clothing for the people.

(e) *Methods of Economic Penetration*

The resources of Montenegro have as yet been very imperfectly developed, and the methods of economic penetration employed, which have been sufficiently indicated above, call for no special comment. As regards the future, the poverty of the people, the x inadequate means of communication, and lack of knowledge as to the mineral resources of the country, will make the success of new enterprises slow and uncertain. The improvement of the communications is an essential preliminary to economic progress, and will afford the most promising opening for foreign capital. Once the country has been provided with a good system of roads, it will be possible to proceed confidently to the exploitation of the fertile soil and large forests. But for some time to come the investor must be prepared for large outlay and slow returns.

(2) FOREIGN

(a) *Exports*

Quantities, Values, and Countries of Destination.—For the total values of Montenegrin exports, exact figures are only available up to 1910 :

| <i>Year.</i> | | | | | <i>Value in francs.</i> |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|-------------------------|
| 1905 | . | . | . | . | 1,636,600 |
| 1906 | . | . | . | . | 1,926,400 |
| 1907 | . | . | . | . | 1,344,000 |
| 1908 | . | . | . | . | 2,654,300 |
| 1909 | . | . | . | . | 2,377,000 |
| 1910 | . | . | . | . | 2,392,000 |

The high-water mark of Montenegrin export trade was thus reached in 1908. Only very fragmentary statistics are available for 1911, but they point to a diminution in the total value. In 1912, owing to the Italo-Turkish and Balkan Wars, export trade was almost nil. The blockade of April-May 1913 was a further check, but the passing over into Montenegrin hands of large and fertile areas of the Sanjak of Novi-bazar and Albania soon brought about a recovery.

Detailed statistics are available for 1907, 1909, and 1910, but, being founded on different bases, are not satisfactory for purposes of comparison.

In 1907 the principal exports were 4,973 cattle, 18,000 sheep, 129,000 kg. of raw wool, 140,000 kg. of hides and skins, and 193,000 kg. of fish. The following figures, showing the values of the principal exports in 1907 to Austria, Italy, Serbia and Turkey, are taken from M. Verloop's *Royaume de Monténégro* (1911):

| | <i>Austria.</i> <i>Francs.</i> | <i>Italy.</i> <i>Francs.</i> | <i>Serbia.</i> <i>Francs.</i> | <i>Turkey.</i> <i>Francs.</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Sheep . . . | 59,927 | 59,501 | — | 64,097 |
| Cattle . . . | 343,688 | 4,261 | — | 2,824 |
| Raw wool . . . | 219,788 | 12,000 | — | 1,186 |
| Hides and skins . . . | 214,435 | — | — | 8,285 |
| Fish . . . | 28,142 | 10,181 | 46,975 | 31,000 |
| Olive oil . . . | 4,376 | — | 7,915 | 17,000 |
| Sumach . . . | 25,734 | — | — | — |
| Honey and wax . . . | 2,759 | — | — | — |
| Lime flowers . . . | 20,587 | — | — | — |
| Yellow wood . . . | 7,700 | — | — | — |

Among the less important exports appear goats, pigs, birds, smoked mutton, eggs, flour, fruit, vegetables, preserves, wine, brandy, chrysanthemums, insecticide powder, and silk-worms. There was also a steadily increasing export of copper in transit from Serbia.

The following export statistics are derived from the United States Consular Reports for 1909 and 1910:

| | 1909. | | 1910. | |
|----------------------------|------------|---------------------|------------|---------------------|
| | Head. | Value in Francs. | Head. | Value in Francs. |
| Live animals and birds . | 24,956 | 716,100 | 23,526 | 787,700 |
| | <i>Kg.</i> | | <i>Kg.</i> | |
| Raw wool | 208,700 | 374,200 | 126,000 | 259,000 |
| Skins | 235,700 | 422,500 | 159,200 | 332,000 |
| Olive oil and residues . . | 1,195,000 | 245,000 | 782,000 | 390,000 |
| Honey and wax | 25,500 | 11,800 | 12,300 | 8,200 |
| Fruit and vegetables . . | 158,000 | 11,100 | 157,000 | 8,500 |
| Smoked meats | 11,000 | 11,500 | 15,300 | 23,600 |
| Eggs | 16,700 | 10,500 | 16,400 | 9,800 |
| Preserves | 35,570 | 22,700 | 101,300 | 42,700 |
| Woollen cloth | 14,560 | 18,300 | 36,700 | 47,800 |
| Yellow wood | 20,700 | 1,670 | 104,300 | 8,200 |

It should be noted that the exports of skins and raw wool rose remarkably from 1907 to 1909, but fell considerably in 1910. Olive oil shows a consistent rise, this being due to enterprise in the Antivari district. The exports of honey and wax, after a striking increase, declined in 1910.

The exports in 1912 went almost entirely *via Antivari*, and included wool, hides and skins, dried fish, tobacco, and laurel leaves (for Trieste), together with a small number of horses, mules and donkeys from Albania for Italy. The total volume of exports from Antivari in that year hardly exceeded 300,000 kg.

For the second half of 1913, when the Balkan Wars had just ended, certain statistics are given in the Austrian Consular Report. These are particularly valuable as affording some indication of the effect likely to be produced on the commerce of Montenegro by her newly-acquired territories.

During the half-year in question, 2,600 cattle and nearly 18,000 sheep were exported. Of these, 2,000 cattle and upwards of 5,000 sheep went to Cattaro, 600 cattle to Malta and Italy, and 12,000 sheep to Marseilles, *via* Italy. These figures show that the second half-year's export of cattle and sheep in 1913 fell little short of the full year's export of live-stock in 1909 and 1910. It is known that stock-breeding was on the decline in

the old territories, and that the number of cattle and sheep had been heavily reduced by requisitions for the army during the Balkan War—facts which support the opinion that the high export figures for 1913 were mainly due to the produce of the recently annexed regions.

The report states that 265 horses were exported to Bari, nearly all of which came from the Nikshich district and the new territory. In 1911, 770 horses had been sent to Italy. The figures do not supply a good basis for comparison, but the apparent decline would be amply accounted for by the war.

Smoked mutton (*kastradina*) was exported to Dalmatia and Italy to the amount of 60,000 kg. and the value of 21,000 francs. The exports of salt fish (*scoranza*) amounted to 150,000 kg.

The wool exported amounted to 250,000 kg., with a value of 600,000 francs. It was sent to Austria and Italy, mainly to the former. The figures are much larger than those of 1910, the increase being due to the annexation of the fertile plains of the Metoya. In the case of skins also, there is a notable increase due to the produce of the new territories; 250,000 pieces, in value 325,000 francs, were exported, mostly to Austria, but some to Italy. In addition to the skins of domestic animals, there were exported over 26,000 skins of wild animals, including 4,000 fox skins (value 60,000 francs) and 1,000 marten skins (value 30,000 francs).

In 1913 the export of olive oil was prohibited, but the export of sumach, which had declined, showed a revival, 800,000 kg. (value 176,000 francs) being sent abroad.

Other commodities are mentioned in the report as having been exported in comparatively small quantities. Among them appear fish-scales (to Italy), wax (to Trieste and Valona), tobacco, pomegranates

(171,000 kg. to Albania), quinces, and chrysanthemums (6,500 kg. to Trieste).

(b) Imports

Quantities, Values, and Countries of Origin.—Of late years the imports of Montenegro, while fluctuating, have shown a general upward tendency, almost doubling in value between 1905 and 1913. The most recent figures available are as follows :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Value in francs.</i> |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| 1909 | 6,174,000 |
| 1910 | 8,160,000 |
| 1911 | 6,654,800 |
| 1912 | 4,450,000 ¹ |
| 1913 | 8,400,000 |

¹ Exclusive of articles imported for the use of the army.

The figures for 1913 are the more remarkable as the Montenegrin coast was blockaded during April and May of that year.

The following are detailed statistics of the imports for 1909 and 1910 according to the United States Consular Reports for those years :

| | <u>1909.</u> | | <u>1910.</u> | |
|--|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| | <i>Kg.</i> | <i>Value in Francs.</i> | <i>Kg.</i> | <i>Value in Francs.</i> |
| Agricultural produce and fruit | 3,513,300 | 852,000 | 6,284,000 | 1,133,000 |
| Sugar, coffee, &c. | 1,457,000 | 853,000 | 1,684,000 | 996,000 |
| Other food-stuffs | 124,000 | 105,000 | 200,000 | 180,000 |
| Cotton, flax, hemp, and hair | 399,000 | 1,081,000 | 533,000 | 1,449,000 |
| Hides and skins | 192,000 | 467,000 | 228,000 | 687,000 |
| Clothing | 92,900 | 546,000 | 168,000 | 774,000 |
| Woollen goods | 66,000 | 162,000 | 55,000 | 381,000 |
| Gold and silk textiles | 7,700 | 113,000 | 5,500 | 102,000 |
| Lumber and timber products | 722,000 | 141,000 | 1,509,000 | 265,000 |
| Alcoholic and spirituous beverages | 689,000 | 287,000 | 462,000 | 191,000 |
| Oils, colours, and chemicals | 1,217,000 | 404,000 | 1,260,000 | 552,000 |
| Paper | 112,000 | 70,000 | 155,000 | 89,000 |
| Stone and glass ware | 3,250,000 | 297,000 | 3,059,000 | 288,000 |
| Metals (other than precious) | 740,000 | 426,000 | 920,000 | 563,000 |
| Precious metals | 2,600 | 24,000 | 900 | 23,000 |
| All other articles | 68,000 | 168,000 | 99,000 | 296,000 |
| Total weight in kg. | 12,652,500 | | 16,622,400 | |
| Animals (head) | 8,439 | 178,000 | 4,603 | 191,000 |
| Total value of imports | | 6,174,000 | | 8,160,000 |

The following figures of imports via Antivari in 1913 are taken from the Austrian Consular Report for that year. The imports through Antivari are stated to represent 60 per cent. of the total imports of the country :

| <i>Country of origin.</i> | <i><u>Kg.</u></i> |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Austria-Hungary | 8,677,400 (in 1912, 6,109,200 kg.) |
| Italy | 4,134,300 |
| Argentina | 4,500,000 (maize) ✓ |
| United Kingdom | 3,580,000 (coal) ✓ |
| Bulgaria | 2,752,500 (maize) |
| Egypt | 2,200,000 (salt) |
| <u>Russia</u> | 1,200,000 (<u>war material</u>) ✓ |

Details are also available for the import of particular commodities by this route, and in certain cases can be compared with the corresponding figures for 1912. Thus the maize imported in 1913 amounted to 7,976,900 kg., an increase of 148,300 kg. on the previous year, Austria-Hungary supplying 732,900 kg., Bulgaria 2,752,000, and the Argentine 4,500,000. The oats imported amounted to 735,600 kg., rather more than half being from Austria-Hungary and the rest from Italy ; in 1912, 863,418 kg. were imported, from Turkey and the Argentine. In 1913, 590,000 kg. of rice were imported, from Austria-Hungary and Italy ; in 1912 the amount was 616,000 kg. The import of flour in 1913 amounted to 3,596,000 kg., of which Austria-Hungary sent 2,158,100, and Italy the remainder ; the total was considerably less than in 1912, when 5,650,000 kg. entered the country. The sugar imports, on the other hand, increased greatly, the figure for 1913 being 2,091,700 kg., as against 922,500 in 1912. Coffee was imported in much larger quantities than in 1912, when the total was only 207,700 kg. ; it is known, moreover, that much coffee was smuggled

into the new territory from Belgrade. Salt is a Government monopoly. All salt imported into Montenegro comes from the Port Said Salt Association, Ltd., an English company trading under a concession from the Egyptian Government. Petroleum was at one time imported solely from Austria, but in 1913 the Italo-American Petroleum Company had captured some of the trade and was doing a thriving business.

The imports of manufactured goods were small, owing to the war. The Compagnia di Antivari imported a certain quantity of building materials from Austria and Italy. Austria sent 208,500 kg. of hardware, and Italy 365,800 kg., a little also coming from Constantinople. Paper, cordage, and cheap porcelain came exclusively from Austria, from which country Montenegro also obtained nearly all its common glass.

The incompleteness of the statistics for the years immediately preceding the European War makes it difficult to draw conclusions as to the prospects of the import trade of Montenegro. Certain salient features, however, may be noted :

1. Imports from Austria-Hungary showed a tendency to decline. From 1910 to 1911, for instance, their value fell by over 500,000 francs. It is true that 1913 showed a rise in comparison with 1912, but conditions in those years were very abnormal.

2. Importation from Italy was slowly but steadily increasing.

3. Germany began to compete with Austria in certain manufactured goods—especially hardware, tools, and textiles—but failed in an attempt to obtain a share in the import of leather.

4. America began to supply Montenegro with cereals, and, through Italy, with petroleum.

5. The imports of maize from the Argentine reached a high figure.

6. British imports into Montenegro remained small. The figures are as follows :

| Year. | Value in francs. |
|----------------|------------------|
| 1911 | 34,224 |
| 1912 | 75,504 |
| 1913 | 52,248 |

These figures are presumably exclusive of coal, and principally represent imports of cotton yarn, bleached shirtings, and similar goods.

7. There is evidence that the disproportion between the imports and the exports of Montenegro continued to the beginning of the European War. Figures show that it was increasing between 1905 and 1910. In the former year the value of the exports was 1,636,000 francs, and that of the imports 4,468,000, the ratio being 1 to 2·7 ; while in 1910 the figures were 2,392,000 and 7,893,000, or a ratio of 1 to 3·3. In 1911, so far as can be gathered from incomplete statistics, a decline in the imports was accompanied by a corresponding decline in the exports. The exigencies of the Balkan War led to a further rise in the imports, and there was certainly a decrease of exports at this time, especially as the export of olive oil was prohibited. On the other hand, the produce of the new territories, which was already being exported in some quantity during the second half of 1913, might have helped towards redressing the unfavourable balance.

(c) *Customs and Tariffs*

In 1904 a customs tariff was established by law. The measure, however, reserved to the Prince the right of monopoly in any article. The law was amended and simplified in 1905. An *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. minimum and 15 per cent. maximum was imposed on nearly all imports, the chief exceptions being beverages, spirits, cigarette paper, playing-cards, and silk and gold trimmings, on which heavier duties were charged. Modifications

of the tariff on beverages were introduced in 1910 by a law which imposed a consumption tax on all alcohol consumed in the country. A number of articles are admitted free of duty, among which are scientific instruments and goods intended for public relief.

(d) Commercial Treaties

In 1907 Montenegro had commercial treaties with Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and Egypt. In that year a commercial convention was arranged with Serbia, to expire in 1917, providing for mutual traffic facilities on the railways and the Danube. Since 1907 a number of other treaties have been concluded.

In 1908 treaties were made with the United Kingdom (extending the existing treaty till 1910), with Germany (to expire in 1917), with Bulgaria (to expire at the end of 1912), with Turkey and with Greece. The treaty with Greece, which was to remain in force till the end of 1917, provided for most-favoured-nation treatment in respect of transit and customs duties.

In the same year a Montenegrin decree confirmed the application of maximum tariffs to imports from all countries except the most favoured nations, but coffee, rice, corn, and hay were excluded from the scope of this measure.

In 1910 a commercial treaty was concluded with the Netherlands, and an agreement was made with Russia providing for most-favoured-nation treatment in respect of tariffs, customs formalities, transit, tonnage, and other dues, and containing provisions regarding the treatment of agents and vessels of the one country in the territory of the other.

In 1910 a treaty was concluded with the United Kingdom¹ (an extension of the existing treaty to remain

¹ For details, see Mr. G. J. Stanley's Report to the President of the Board of Trade on the Treaty Arrangements of the United Kingdom (1917).

in force for ten years), and in 1911 with Switzerland and with Austria-Hungary. In addition to the usual most-favoured-nation treatment, the treaty with Austria-Hungary provided for the duty-free export to the Bocche di Cattaro district of certain quantities of live-stock and dried meat of Montenegrin origin. The treaty was not to come into force until Montenegro had agreed that Austro-Hungarian money should circulate in Montenegro on the same terms as Montenegrin money in Austria-Hungary.

(D) FINANCE

(1) PUBLIC FINANCE

Budget.—It is a matter of common knowledge that the published budget of Montenegro was unreliable, as the country received financial aid from Russia (and possibly at times from other sources) which did not figure in the official statement.

The following figures have been given as estimates :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Revenue. Francs.</i> | <i>Expenditure. Francs.</i> |
|--------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1911 | 3,988,000 | — |
| 1912 | 3,759,750 | 4,361,000 |
| 1913 | unavailable | — |
| 1914 | 9,350,000 | 12,600,000 |

The public debt was estimated in 1914 at 6,250,000 francs.

The State revenues are derived from customs duties, monopolies, land-tax, public services, and other miscellaneous sources, the first two being usually the most important. The salt monopoly and the customs duties were mortgaged in 1910 as security for the interest and sinking fund of the public loan contracted in that year (see below, pp. 76, 77). The revenue arising from these two sources was authoritatively stated to have

amounted in 1908 to 1,379,675 francs (275,000 from salt and 1,104,675 from customs).

The modernization of the Government in 1910 led to a great increase of expenditure, which was only partially met by new taxes and monopolies. The Balkan Wars involved the State in further financial difficulties. The army had no commissariat, and its needs were provided for by requisitions, which were paid for by Government vouchers; it was found impossible to draw in these vouchers before February 1914, hence the moratorium had to be extended to July. During the Balkan Wars the Government also found it necessary to remit all direct State taxes. The development of the newly acquired territory by colonization had to be deferred for financial reasons.

Taxes.—Taxes are levied on land, live-stock, houses, mills, and (since 1910) on all spirits and beverages consumed within the country. The land-tax is 1 franc per *ralo* (about 1,820 square metres). The live-stock tax is graduated as follows :

| | | | |
|------|--------|-----|----------------|
| 1.25 | francs | per | horse or cow. |
| 0.50 | „ | „ | pig. |
| 0.25 | „ | „ | sheep or goat. |
| 0.37 | „ | „ | hive of bees. |

The house tax is 10 per cent. on the rent, and the consumption tax on beverages ranges from 1 to 5 francs per hectolitre.

Besides taxes, the Government can claim ten days' work per annum from each adult subject; this, however, may be commuted for a yearly payment of 6 francs.

Monopolies.—The Government has monopolies in salt, tobacco, spirits and alcohol, petroleum and matches (the last established in 1914).

Public Loans.—A 5 per cent. Government loan of £250,000 was effected in 1910 through Messrs. Boulter

Bros. & Co., London, at 97 per cent. The proceeds were to be devoted to the repayment of all existing loans and short-dated Government bills, to the formation of a State mortgage bank (see below, p. 78), and to the construction of roads and other public works. The sum required for interest and sinking fund is £15,000 a year, secured, as mentioned above, by the customs and the salt monopoly ; £239,800 is still outstanding.

(2) CURRENCY

There is no mint in Montenegro, and until 1906 Austrian money was in circulation. Since that date the country has had its own coinage.

The unit of currency is the perper or *krun*, which is equivalent to the franc. The only other monetary denomination is the *para*, of which there are 100 in the perper.

There is no gold coinage, but Turkish, English, and French gold coins circulate. Nickel pieces of 20 and 10 paras and bronze or copper 2-para pieces are struck in Austria. Gold coins and Austro-Hungarian bank-notes were withdrawn from circulation in 1912, and were replaced by treasury notes to the value of 2 million perpers, valid for one year.

(3) BANKING

Before 1901 no bank existed in Montenegro, and money could not be borrowed at less than 20 per cent. Since that date, however, a number of banks have been established.

1. The Banque de Monténégro was founded in 1906, with its head office at Tsetinye. It has branches at Podgoritsa, Kolashin, Antivari, Duleigno, Ipek, and Scutari, and agencies in several other towns. It has a fully paid-up capital of 1,000,000 francs. According to the balance-sheet for 1913, the last issued, the

reserve fund was 116,114 francs, and the year's profits amounted to 80,102 francs. The dividend paid in 1908 was $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in 1911, 20 per cent., but there is no record of any dividend having been paid since. The bank enjoys and deserves more confidence than any other in the country.

2. The Banque d'État Hypothécaire, a State mortgage bank, was instituted in accordance with the terms of the loan of 1910. It lends money at 8 per cent. for periods ranging from eight to thirty years.

3. A national savings bank, the Banque Nationale d'Épargne, was founded in 1906 at Tsetinye with unlimited capital. Up to 1911, 82,000 francs had been paid in.

4. The Podgoritsa Bank was established in 1904 with a capital of 600,000 francs, fully paid up. It has branches at Kolashin and Virbazar. Negotiations were opened for its amalgamation with the Banque de Monténégro, but without result.

5. The Banque de Crédit de Nikshich, the first bank founded in Montenegro, dates from 1901. Its capital is 1,000,000 francs, 480,000 of which were paid up before 1911, and a small amount since.

6. The Banca Narodna, or Banque Nationale, was established at Tsetinye in 1909 by an Austrian named Petrovic, who took over and gave this name to the Banque d'Antivari. The capital was quoted at 2,000,000 francs, but up to 1911 only 240,000 had been paid up. The bank got into difficulties through bad management, and came under the control of the Banca Adriatica di Trieste, which provided it with the necessary capital. This appears to have been part of a scheme to secure for Austrian interests a hold on Montenegrin banking.

7. The Banque de Pech (Ipek) was founded in 1913, with a fully paid-up capital of 200,000 francs.

8. In 1907 the Handelsaktiengesellschaft, an Austrian concern, opened branches at Tsetinye, Podgoritsa, and Antivari.

9. In the same year the Orientalische Handelsgesellschaft, also an Austrian undertaking, opened branches at Podgoritsa and Antivari.

(4) PRINCIPAL FIELDS OF INVESTMENT

The more important openings for capital, such as the development of communications and the exploitation of the forests, have already been noted (see pp. 46, 48, 58, 66). Certain smaller enterprises, however, might prove profitable. Tanneries are urgently needed, as hitherto Montenegro has had to send its skins abroad to be tanned, an import duty being paid on them when they returned as leather. Woollen mills are wanted for a similar reason, and boot factories, cement works, and saw-mills would be of great benefit to the country. For all these undertakings raw materials would be ready to hand, and there is abundance of water-power for machinery.

The following undertakings had been projected before the war: electric lighting works for Podgoritsa and Nikshich, cold stores for Antivari, motor saw-mills in the commune of Lyeva-Riyeka, and aqueducts in Nikshich, Podgoritsa, and Antivari.

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MAPS

Montenegro is contained in Sheet K. 34 (Sofiya) of the International Map published by the War Office (G.S.G.S. 2758). For historical boundaries and ethnography see Table and note of Maps in *The Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series.

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

SERBIA lies between $40^{\circ} 50'$ and 45° north latitude, and between $19^{\circ} 5'$ and $23^{\circ} 10'$ east longitude. It has an area of some 33,900 square miles, and is bounded on the north by Croatia-Slavonia and Hungary, on the east by Bulgaria, on the south by Greece, and on the west (from north to south successively) by Bosnia, Montenegro, and Albania.

The northern boundary is formed by the Save and the Danube ; the eastern is formed by the Danube and its tributary the Timok, south of which it climbs the western heights of the Stara Planina, cutting across the Svete Nikola Pass (4,737 ft.), and then running over the crests of high and difficult country till it reaches Lake Doiran ; the southern runs from Lake Doiran through Lake Prespa to Lake Okhrida, going over very mountainous country, except to the south of Monastir ; the western boundary, going north from Lake Okhrida, to a certain extent follows valleys (e.g. those of the Black and White Drin) and in other places the crest-line of mountains, and eventually follows the Drina till it reaches the Save. The former Sanjak of Novibazar is cut lengthwise from south-east to north-west.

Before the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, the southern frontier of Serbia was to the north of Nish. The upper Morava valley, including Nish, Pirot, and Vranje, was added by the Treaty of Berlin. The Treaty of San Stefano had assigned Nish only to Serbia, Pirot and

Vranye to Bulgaria. The rest of the present Serbian territory was acquired by the Treaty of Bucarest in 1913. The ethnological frontiers are much disputed; but in the Secret Annexe to the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of Alliance in 1912¹ the Serbian claims in the south were limited by a line drawn south-west from near Egri Palanka to Lake Okhrida, which Bulgaria was also prepared to accept as a frontier—Dibra, Skoplye (Skopie, Üsküb), Kumanovo, and Struga being assigned to Serbia, and Okhrida, Monastir (Bitolye or Vitolya), Prilip, Veles (Köprülü), and Shtip (Ishtib) to Bulgaria. On the western frontier also, as drawn by the International Albanian Boundary Commission, the racial division is open to dispute, as there are many Albanians within the present Serbian boundary, and Serbian authorities claim many Serbians outside it.

Some confusion in nomenclature is caused by the fact that, politically speaking, 'New Serbia' means the recently-acquired districts; but, historically speaking, these are often referred to as 'Old Serbia', since they lie around the old Serbian capital of Skoplye.

(2) SURFACE AND RIVER SYSTEM

Surface

Serbia falls naturally into three divisions: (1) the north-western, which drains into the Danube; (2) the southern, which drains into the Aegean; and (3) the eastern Serbian mountains.

North-Western Region.—The north-western area may be defined as the country contained within the curve made by the Morava over its whole course.

The northern part of this area, between the Western Morava and the Save-Danube line, is the least moun-

¹ For full text see *Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series, Appendix XI.

tainous part of Serbia. It is for the most part a region of wooded hills, thickly populated. Between Stalach and the Danube the valley of the Morava is broad and fertile. All the rest of the district is really forest, except the Machva plain in the extreme north-western angle between the Save and the Drina, which is for the most part low-lying and swampy. South of this is a high, rather bleak country, part of the Kapaonik mountain system, with heights rising to 6,000 ft. Much grazing is carried on.

The Serbian portion of the old Sanjak is a rugged country, which has been to a great extent denuded of forest while under Turkish rule. The chief heights are between 4,000 and 5,000 ft. There are some fertile valleys, such as those of the Lim (in which is Priyepolye) and the Rashka (in which is Novibazar). Finally south of the former Serbian frontier, within the curve of the upper course of the Southern Morava, is a large portion of Old Serbia, taken from Turkey in the Balkan War in 1912. This includes the famous plain of Kosovo, fertile, well-watered, and populous. Mitrovitsa, on the Ibar, and Prishtina are the chief towns.

Southern Region.—In southern Serbia the lower regions consist of rolling, cultivated downs, the higher of good grazing-ground; the country has long been deforested. The Vardar is the great line of communication between the Aegean and Central Europe. The Salonika-Belgrade railway follows this valley and the Morava valley, the divide between the two being low (only 1,502 ft.).

Eastern Serbian Mountains.—The northern half, the departments of Kraina and Timok, has mineral wealth and also fine vineyards; the southern half is mainly a grazing country. Nish and Pirot, in the Nishava valley, stand on an important natural line of communication.

River System

Serbia shares the navigation of two rivers of first-class importance, the Danube and the Save.

The Danube skirts Serbian territory from Belgrade to the mouth of the Timok. As far as Orsova it borders Hungarian territory, then, passing through the Iron Gates, it flows between Serbia and Rumania. The Save divides Serbia from Croatia-Slavonia.

The Morava is the chief river which flows for the whole of its course through Serbia. Its southern branch rises in the Tsrna Gora (Kara Dag), north of Skoplye, and about midway on its course towards the Danube receives the waters of the Western Morava. Below Stalach the valley of the Morava loses its mountainous character, and from Tyupriya (Ćuprija) downwards, a distance of over 100 miles, it is navigable for barges; the channel, however, is interrupted by shoals, which are always being formed by the river.

The Vardar rises in the south-west of Serbia, flows through the plain of Tetovo in a north-east direction, then turns south, and by way of Skoplye and Veles reaches the Gulf of Salonika. All Macedonian rivers are negligible as means of transportation or navigation: they have steep banks, are swift and stony, and are liable to flooding.

Two other considerable rivers, the White and Black Drin, neither suitable for navigation, fall only partially within Serbia.

In the extreme south-west of Serbia there are two large, well-known lakes, Okhrida and Prespa, which, like Lake Doiran, a smaller lake in the south-east, are famous for their fish. The scenery in this lake region is extremely fine.

(3) CLIMATE

Serbia is to a certain extent within the influence of the Mediterranean, and has a temperate, healthy climate.

Northern Serbia has a similar climate to northern Bulgaria. The winter is cold, with frequent falls of snow, which lies on the ground for a week or ten days at a time, but disappears about April. The summer is bright and sunny, and sometimes extremely hot. Throughout the year the higher valleys are exposed to cold winds from the north and north-east.

The new territory is rather warmer than the northern region, yet, although the snow does not lie so long, the winter is nevertheless severe, except in the sheltered valleys.

The range of mean monthly temperature and rainfall is as follows:

| | Mean Temperature. | | Mean Rainfall. | |
|----------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <i>January.</i> | <i>July.</i> | <i>January.</i> | <i>June.</i> |
| Belgrade | 29° F. (−2° C.) | 71° F. (22° C.) | 1·14 in. (29 mm.) | 3·15 in. (80 mm.) |
| Skoplye | 29° F. (−2° C.) | 73° F. (23° C.) | 1·42 in. (36 mm.) | 2·24 in. (57 mm.) |
| Monastir | 30° F. (−1° C.) | 71° F. (22° C.) | 1·93 in. (49 mm.) | 2·76 in. (70 mm.) |

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

Malaria and typhoid are the diseases most prevalent in Serbia. In northern Serbia malaria is worst in the Machva plain and along the Kolubara and Tannava rivers; it is also bad around Lakes Prespa and Okhrida, and in nearly all the valleys of southern Serbia.

In the villages of Serbia the water, when got from wells, is apt to be contaminated, which explains the frequency of typhoid. Yet before the Balkan Wars, although sanitary conditions were primitive, the health of the country was fairly good. The wars, however, proved too great a strain for the sanitary services of the various States which were concerned;

and since then typhus, spread by body vermin, has become endemic in the country. Privation and want among the inhabitants have aggravated the diseases, and tuberculosis is said to have greatly increased.

It will be noticed that, with the exception of malaria, the severity of the diseases to which Serbia has been subject in recent years is due to conditions of war. There is no reason why, with the exercise of care, better conditions should not be restored. It is possible, however, that with the decrease in cultivation in many valleys, malaria may have strengthened its hold on the country ; and widespread and energetic efforts will be necessary to drain the low-lying lands.

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

Race

While the bulk of the population of Serbia (90 per cent. or even more) consists of Slavs, these are not all true Serbs, but include in Macedonia a considerable population, the precise affinities of which are hotly disputed.

The Serbs, who speak a Slavonic language having distinct characteristics of its own, and belong to their own autocephalous branch of the Orthodox Church (distinct alike from the Greek and the Bulgarian), have likewise a national history and feel themselves to be a distinct people. This consciousness, the result of race, of history, of environment, and of education, is highly developed. At the same time it must be admitted that there are, among the inhabitants of Serbia, some who approximate to the Bulgar type.¹ While the typical Serb is a tall, broad-headed man,

¹ The original Bulgars, a Finno-Ugrian race who arrived in the Balkans in the seventh century, acquired a Slavonic speech and were largely absorbed racially in the people they conquered.

muscular and lithe, the typical Bulgar is rather smaller and more thick-set, with a flatter face, smaller eyes, and with straight black hair, though too much stress should not be laid on these differences. Both types are found all over Serbia, among people who speak and worship in the Serbian fashion, and who are perfectly conscious and proud of their Serbian nationality.

The next largest element in the Serbian State is found in Macedonia and is also Slavonic. Its nationality and language are the subject of much dispute, and offer one of the most difficult of Balkan problems. By the Bulgarians and their advocates these people are claimed as Bulgarians ; and the Bulgarian propaganda was very vigorous and successful among them before the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, and was greatly assisted by the establishment of Exarchist bishops and churches and of Bulgarian schools, so that their political and religious sympathies were to a great extent Bulgarian. It has been suggested by some authorities that these 'Bulgarians' (or 'Macedonian Slavs' as the Serbian advocates call them) are survivors of the earlier Slavonic settlements before the establishment of the Bulgarian and Serbian nations. There are between 400,000 and 500,000 of them, out of a total population of 1,100,000, in Serbian Macedonia. This district was assigned to Bulgaria by the Treaty of San Stefano, but restored to Turkey by the Treaty of Berlin. The compromise agreed on in 1912 between Serbia and Bulgaria as to its division is stated on p. 2 above (cf. also p. 46). By the Treaty of Bucarest the whole was assigned to Serbia, and was in respect of this element of the population a source of weakness to the kingdom. The 'Bulgarians' of Macedonia, however, were not taken from the Bulgarian kingdom, but were on the contrary rescued by the Serbs from Turkish dominion. It is not unlikely therefore

that they or their sons would have become good Serbian citizens, under an enlightened and peaceful Serbian State. The war which began in 1914 spoiled this chance. After the occupation of Serbian Macedonia the Bulgarian Government established Bulgarian administration, and opened Bulgarian schools for the Macedonian children; and it may be supposed that a permanent ascendancy has been established over the sympathies of a section at least of the inhabitants.

In addition to Bulgarians, there are four other main elements, Greek, Vlach, Albanian, and Turkish; the last two are mainly Moslem. There are small settlements of Greeks in every town of southern Serbia, where they form a commercial class. Vlachs are also found throughout Macedonia, but it is only in north-eastern Serbia that they form a compact mass anywhere. They are said to be about 200,000 in the region of Negotin. They came in the last hundred years as colonists from Rumania, and are said to be loyal citizens of Serbia. The Moslems are nearly all in the districts acquired in 1913, when they numbered about 400,000;¹ since then their numbers have tended to decrease through emigration. Albanians form a fairly important element in south-western Serbia, in Dibra, Prizren, Mitrovitsa, also in Novibazar and Prishtina. Most of the regions which were predominantly Albanian were incorporated in the Albanian principality in 1913, but the exact racial frontier is much disputed. Some of the 'Turks' were originally Slavs, subjects of the mediaeval Serbian princes, and adopted Islam under the Ottoman rule. Many of these speak only the Serbian language.

There are also about 10,000 Jews in Serbia, living exclusively in the towns, and mostly of Spanish origin,

¹ This number may be exaggerated. A recent Serbian estimate gives 200,000 Moslems in the new territory and 3,000 within the frontiers prior to 1912. See p. 56.

like those of Salonika. They look down upon the Jewish immigrants from Austria-Hungary, who are much later arrivals. The Serbian Jews are patriotic Serbs ; and in Serbia (in this, as in most other respects, different from Rumania) there is no 'Jewish question'.

In addition to the Serbs in the kingdom, there are large numbers of kindred people in Montenegro and in the dominions of Austria-Hungary. Among these peoples a national feeling has developed, creating a desire for union in one independent Southern Slav (Jugo-Slav) State. The numbers of the Southern Slavs are computed as follows :

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|------------------|---|---|----------------|------------|
| Serbs | in Serbia | . | . | . | over 3,500,000 | |
| " | " | Montenegro | . | . | 500,000 | |
| " | " | Croatia-Slavonia | . | . | 645,000 | |
| " | " | Southern Hungary | . | . | 461,000 | |
| | | | | | | 5,106,000 |
| Croats | " | Croatia-Slavonia | . | . | 1,638,000 | |
| " | " | Istria | . | . | 173,000 | |
| " | " | Southern Hungary | . | . | 195,000 | |
| | | | | | | 2,006,000 |
| Serbo-Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina | | | | | | |
| | and Dalmatia | . | . | . | . | 2,432,000 |
| Slovenes in Carinthia, Styria, &c. | | | | | | |
| | | . | . | . | . | 1,313,000 |
| Total | | | | | | 10,857,000 |

In Austrian statistics Croats and Serbs are not distinguished from each other, and therefore in some of the figures of the table they are bracketed together. The Slovenes, another branch of the Slav race, who extend from Friuli and Istria as far east as Hungary (where there are about 60,000), are almost all Roman Catholics.

Language

The Serbian language is Slavonic, and is spoken in Serbia, in Montenegro, and in the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and

Croatia-Slavonia, and in southern Hungary. Between the tongues spoken in these regions there are slight dialectal variations. A substantial difference is that in Serbia, Montenegro, southern Hungary, in most of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and among the Slavonians, the Cyrillic alphabet is used ; while the Latin alphabet prevails in parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and among the Croats. This difference corresponds to a difference of religion. The Serbian-speaking peoples who are Roman Catholic use the Latin alphabet, those who are Orthodox use the Cyrillic.

The Slavonic language spoken by the ' Bulgarians ' or ' Macedo-Slavs ' of Serbian Macedonia is like Bulgarian, but also shows a resemblance to Serbian sufficiently great to allow of some degree of mutual understanding. Its similarity to Bulgarian doubtless tends to be increased by the Bulgarian schools.

In the extreme north-east of Serbia and along the Danube, from the mouth of the Timok to Golubats, Rumanian is the language in ordinary use ; but there, too, Serbian is the language for purposes of trade.

(6) POPULATION

The population of Serbia before the European war was 4,547,992. The density of population was 134 per square mile ; excluding, however, the new territories gained in 1913, the density was 156 per square mile, while these new territories had a density of only 107 per square mile.

The great majority of the population lives on the land ; the town-dwellers are only 16 per cent. of the whole. Except Belgrade, which has 90,000 inhabitants, there are no large towns. Nish, the next largest outside the new territories, has under 25,000. Skoplye (Üsküb) and Monastir have each 50,000 inhabitants.

The most populous parts of the country are along

the Danube and in the regions to the west and east of the lower Morava. The department of Belgrade, excluding the city itself, has a density of population of 179, Smederevo of 273, and Nish of 186 per square mile.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the principality of Serbia had only 500,000 inhabitants. In 1912 the population had risen to 3,000,000. The new territories acquired in the Balkan Wars added a further population of over 1,500,000.

In Serbia there have always been more males than females. The last census (1910) showed a surplus of nearly 100,000 males. Forty-two per cent. of the men marry before the age of 20; the women marry still earlier, nearly 4 per cent. before the age of 16. Out of the whole population, 45 per cent. are married, and the average number of children in each family is four.

The death-rate is 22 per thousand, 33 per cent. of this being due to the death of infants under two years of age. The annual surplus of births over deaths during the five years before the Balkan Wars increased from 36,000 in 1908 to 50,000 in 1912.

In 1910 there were 21,086 foreigners resident in Serbia, chiefly in Belgrade. Of these, 6,605 were Austrians, 6,060 were Turks, 5,518 were Hungarians.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 610 (*circa*). The Serbs enter the Balkan peninsula.
 12th century. Stephen Nemanya founds the Serbian Monarchy.
 1331–55. Zenith of Serbian power under Stephen Dushan.
 1346. Dushan proclaimed Emperor at Skoplye.
 1389. Battle of Kosovo.
 1459. Turkish conquest of Serbia.
 1463. Turkish conquest of Bosnia.
 1483. Turkish conquest of Herzegovina.
 1718–39. Austrian occupation of Serbia and Northern Bosnia.
 1804. First Serbian rising : Kara George.
 1812. First Treaty of Bucarest.
 1815. Second Serbian rising : Milosh Obrenovich.
 1817. Milosh Obrenovich I becomes hereditary chief.
 1826. Convention of Akkerman.
 1829. Treaty of Adrianople.
 1830. Milosh invested as hereditary Prince by the Sultan.
 1833. Serbia obtains frontiers which she retains till 1878.
 1837. First British Consul in Serbia.
 1839. Milosh abdicates. Milan Obrenovich II succeeds. His death.
 1839–42. First reign of Michael Obrenovich III.
 1842. Alexander Karageorgevich.
 1856. Treaty of Paris.
 1859. Alexander Karageorgevich expelled.
 1859–60. Second reign of Milosh Obrenovich I.
 1860–8. Second reign of Michael Obrenovich III.
 1862. Turkish bombardment of Belgrade.
 1867. Last Turkish soldier quits Serbia.
 1868. Assassination of Michael Obrenovich III.
 1868–89. Milan Obrenovich IV.
 1869. Conservative Constitution.
 1876. First Serbo-Turkish War.
 1877. Second Serbo-Turkish War.
 1878. Treaty of Berlin.

- 1882. Milan proclaimed King.
- 1885. Serbo-Bulgarian War : battle of Slivnitsa.
- 1886. Second Treaty of Bucarest.
- 1889. Liberal Constitution ; Milan abdicates.
- 1889-1903. Alexander I.
- 1893. Alexander arrests his Regents.
- 1903. Assassination of Alexander and Queen Draga.
Peter Karageorgevich elected King.
- 1908. Austria-Hungary annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- 1912. First Balkan War.
- 1913. Treaty of London. Greco-Serbian Alliance.
Second Balkan War. Third Treaty of Bucarest.
- 1914. Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand.
Austrian ultimatum to Serbia.

(1) MEDIAEVAL SERBIA (c. 610-1459)

It is impossible to understand the aspirations of the Serbian people without some knowledge of its mediaeval history, because nowhere else in the Balkans, except perhaps in Greece, have historical, and especially mediaeval, traditions so much influence in shaping present policy. For to the Serbs of to-day their history before the Turkish conquest is not an affair of names and dates but a living thing, handed down by those popular ballads which are justly ranked as among the finest specimens of such poetry. Moreover, as in the Balkans the nationalities enfranchised in the last century took up the thread of their national existence exactly at the point where the Turkish conquest had snapped it at the end of the Middle Ages, it is unfair to judge of Balkan peoples, who have thus suddenly emerged from darkness into the full blaze of the modern world, by the same criteria as those applicable to our gradually evolved Western States. Kara George and Milosh, through no fault of their own, were really contemporaries, not of Pitt and Palmerston, but of the men who fought the Wars of the Roses.

Entering the Balkan peninsula thirteen centuries ago, and known under their present name since the ninth century, the Serbs were divided into two separate States, Dioklitiya and Rascia, the former consisting of the South Dalmatian coast, the present Herzegovina and Zeta (the modern Montenegro), with Scutari and Cattaro as its capitals, the latter comprising the inland districts whose centre is Novibazar. They played a part subordinate to that of their Byzantine and Bulgarian rivals till the close of the twelfth century. Then arose the famous Nemanya dynasty, which founded the greatness of Serbia. During the reign of Stephen Dushan (1331-55), Serbia reached her zenith. In 1346 Dushan was crowned at his capital of Skoplye (Üsküb) as 'Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks'; his dominions, at the time of their greatest extent, stretched from the Danube to the Corinthian Gulf, and from the Adriatic to Thrace, and embraced all Macedonia, except the Greek city of Salonika. He thus possessed an ample coast-line—for mediaeval Serbia was not land-locked like the modern kingdom; Cattaro was his mint. But he aimed at expansion in Macedonia rather than at naval power, and even he never conquered the independent Serbian kingdom of Bosnia.

Dushan's empire, based on imperialistic, not racial, principles, broke up at his death. In 1389 the Turks defeated the Serbs on the fatal field of Kosovo; but a Danubian principality, whose capital was Semendria, lingered on, at the pleasure of the Sultans, till in 1459 it received its death-blow; four years later the Bosnian kingdom, and in 1483 Herzegovina, fell. Montenegro and the Dalmatian Republics of Ragusa and Polyitsa, alone of South Slavonic lands, maintained their freedom, Montenegro to our own time, the two small republics till 1808. All else was Turkish or Hungarian. It has been well said of this period of foreign rule that

‘the Serbs of Serbia were saved from despair by the Serbs of Montenegro and from ignorance by those of South Hungary’.

(2) AUSTRO-TURKISH WARS (1683–1791)

After the defeat of the Turks before Vienna in 1683 and the emancipation of Budapest, frequent Austrian expeditions invaded Bosnia, over which the Hungarian crown possessed old historic rights; while an Austrian force captured Nish and penetrated into Macedonia as far as Skoplye (Üsküb). Prince Eugène made in 1697 his memorable march to Sarajevo along the same route that was afterwards followed by the army of occupation in 1878. ‘Yet another campaign’, said a Turkish statesman, on hearing that Macedonia was invaded, ‘and the Austrians will be under the walls of Stambul.’ But these feats of arms were without permanent results; and Skoplye is the farthest point on the road to Salonika that an Austrian army has ever reached. The twenty-one years’ Austrian occupation of Little Wallachia, of a large portion of what is now Serbia, and of a slice of North Bosnia, between 1718 and 1739, was the beginning of that movement which has been resumed in so striking a manner in our own time.

Austria then became an important factor in the Eastern question. The effects of those twenty-one years of European civilization were not wholly lost on the peoples who were put back under Turkish sway by the Treaty of Belgrade. The Serbs of Turkey thenceforth regarded Austria as the only Power which, under existing conditions, could set them free. Numbers of their ancestors had settled in Hungary after the downfall of Serbian independence in the fifteenth century; and two Serb patriarchs of Ipek (Pech), accompanied by thousands of their flock, had more recently

followed that example by migrating thither. The Hungarian Serbs were among the most brilliant soldiers of Prince Eugène; and at the outbreak of every fresh Austro-Turkish war their brethren in Serbia took up arms on the Austrian side. A Serb poet hailed Joseph II as 'the protector of the Serb race'; and the Serb leaders bitterly reproached his successor for making peace with Turkey at Svishtov in 1791. Nor can we be surprised at their regrets at that period. For the first time since the Turkish conquest, Serbia had shown signs of material progress during the two brief decades of the previous Austrian occupation. The national idea was yet to come.

(3) SERBIAN RISINGS UNDER KARA GEORGE AND MILOSH OBRENOVICH (1804-17)

Since her final absorption by Turkey in 1459, Serbia had given the Turkish Government comparatively little trouble. Her native aristocracy did not survive the conquest, but, so far as they escaped extermination, sought a refuge in Montenegro; and whereas the Bosnian nobles, to preserve their lands, had embraced Islam at the conquest, the patriotic peasants of Serbia rarely became Moslems. Unfortunately, in Serbia a number of these Bosnian *begs* were settled by the Turks as landowners, owing in return military service to the Sultan; they formed the majority of the *spahi*, or cavalry, and were the sole possessors of the soil, to the complete exclusion of the *rayah* from all rights of ownership. There were at this period some 900 of these military landowners in the pashalik of Belgrade; but even in time of peace they were mostly absentees, idling away their days in the towns and letting the despised Christians manage their farms. In addition to these *spahi*, another military force, the Janissaries, were to be found in detachments through

the provinces. Their leaders, or *dahi*, were often more powerful than the Sultan's representative, the pasha, and not only maltreated the Christian peasants, but even seized the lands of the Mohammedan *spahi* with impunity. No other part of Europe had suffered so much from their presence, for it was the custom to send the most turbulent of them to the Belgrade pashalik, as being remote from the capital. The natives had, indeed, some small share in the administration; and when, as was the case in Serbia during the period preceding the first rising, the pasha was a just man, their chosen representatives could temper the wind to their shorn flock. The headman of the village, the village magistrate, and, in many cases, the district official or *oborknez*, who was responsible for the collection of the Turkish taxes, and acted as an intermediary between the pasha and the taxpayers, were elected by the people. The *oborknez*, whether so elected or nominated by the pasha, usually held office for life—it had formerly been an hereditary post—and acquired considerable influence both with the Turkish officials and the Serb peasants. Not a few of these local worthies became leaders of the Serbian revolution.

In its first stage the Serbian rising was not directed against the Turkish Government, but against the Janissaries; and the Serbs long protested that they were loyal to the Sultan, and only wished to live in peace under his paternal rule. They had been governed for the last five years by a pasha, Hajji Mustapha, so mild and just that they called him their 'mother', and the Turks branded him as a 'renegade'. No Turkish ruler was ever more beloved by his Christian subjects. With an enlightenment rare in the East, he did all he could to encourage trade, put down violence with a firm hand, and allowed the Serbs to rebuild their ruinous churches and monasteries.

The Treaty of Svishtov had excluded the Janissaries from Serbia, so that the land had rest from its oppressors. But, in defiance of that treaty, they were allowed to return about 1800, to find, however, that the Serbians, whose national spirit had been kindled by the late Austro-Turkish War, were no longer the submissive peasants that they had known. The first step taken by the Janissaries to restore the old order was the murder of the kindly pasha in 1801, and the division of his pashalik among their four chiefs, who governed the people, Mohammedan and Christian alike, in the most arbitrary manner. The Mohammedan *spahi*, seeing their privileges as landowners threatened, now joined hands with the Christians against the common oppressors. Through their instrumentality a petition was sent to the Sultan setting forth the grievances of the Serbs; and the Sultan replied by threatening the Janissaries, that, if they continued in their evil practices, he would send against them an army 'of men of another faith and another race'. The Janissaries inferred that this 'race' could only be the Serbian, and they resolved to anticipate an attack by massacring all its leaders. This massacre of the Serbian headmen in 1804 provoked the Serbian revolution. The news spread like wild-fire; the people flew to arms; and a leader was found in the person of George Petrovich, better known as Kara George.

Kara George was born about 1760. He took part in the war between Austria and Turkey in 1787 with the volunteers on the Austrian side, became a brigand, and then, on the conclusion of peace, fled again to Austria. Hajji Mustapha's mild rule attracted him back to Serbia, and during this period he was living quietly as a pig-dealer in the village of Topola. When the *dahi* resolved upon the massacre of the principal Serbs, his was one of the names on their black list. But he

escaped their attempts to kill him, and became the saviour and avenger of his countrymen.

In February 1804 a body of Serbs assembled at Orashats and chose him as their chief. Kara George accepted their offer, and at once issued an appeal to the Serbian headmen, wealthy yeomen, and tradesmen, to join him. At first there was a tendency to view the rising with suspicion. In the district of Valyevo, however, two influential men, Jacob and Matthew Nenadovich, raised the standard of revolt, and spread the pious fraud that Kara George was the accredited agent of the Sultan, and that it was their duty, as his Majesty's loyal subjects, to aid the Serbian chief against the rebellious Janissaries. This argument convinced the people that the movement had the Sultan's sanction, and no further incentives were needed. Selim III was known to be a reformer and an enemy of the Janissaries; and it was against them, not against him, that the Serbs had a grievance. It is a striking proof of the peculiar character of the Serbian revolution in its first stage, that the leaders everywhere ordered their followers to spare those Moslems who had no connexion with the Janissaries.

It is remarkable, too, that Kara George offered the whole of Serbia to the Austrian Emperor, and asked him to send some member of the Imperial house as a viceroy. The offer was refused; but Baron von Kállay, the Hungarian statesman and historian of the Serbs, whose name is connected with Austrian rule in Bosnia in our own time, thought the refusal a mistake. Had it been accepted, Serbia would not have become an independent State, and Austria would have dominated the Balkan peninsula. She continued, however, to favour the insurrection, and numbers of Hungarian Serbs joined it. It met with success; and on the

island of Ada Kale in the Danube, the Serbs slew the chiefs of the Janissaries.

The original object of the insurrection had been attained, but the demands of the Serbs now rose. Having in vain asked Austria for protection, they now applied to Russia, suggesting the erection of Serbia (*plus* Syrmia and an outlet to the sea at Cattaro) into a Turkish autonomous province under a Russian Grand Duke. This offer also was declined, but the incident shows thus early the tendency to play off Russia against Austria, and the natural desire to have an Adriatic port at the spot where Dushan had had his mint. Alarmed by these events, the Sultan resolved to put his Serbian subjects back into their former position. The Serbs resisted. A battle ensued, and for the first time the insurgents fought against their sovereign, and conquered. The 'loyal rising' had become a revolution against the Sultan. A species of government was then created. From the old days of Serbian independence there had survived the custom of holding an assembly of the people, called the *Skupshtina*; and such an assembly had been held by Kara George. A permanent Senate, or *Savet*, was now formed by the election of a representative of each district into which the pashalik was divided.

Even now the Serbs did not think of separation from Turkey, and made further appeals to the Sultan for peace and to the Emperors of Austria and Russia for intervention. But the Sultan was resolved to put down what he now regarded as a rebellion against his lawful authority, and his forces invaded Serbia in 1806. The Serbian victory at Mishar, near Shabats, which has been glorified by the national bards, seemed likely to induce both sides to make peace. But the Russo-Turkish War began; and Napoleon advised the Sultan to refuse the moderate Serbian demands. The

Serbs gained one success after another ; in 1807 they were masters of the whole pashalik. A Russian corps fought by their side, and the first official Russian agent arrived in Belgrade. Two parties made their appearance in the State, the one pro-Russian, the other anti-Russian. The sudden death of Milan Obrenovich, the leader of the former faction, was ascribed by some to Kara George, and considered by later writers as the beginning of that feud between the Obrenovich and Karageorgevich families, which was till 1903 the bane of Serbia. The eighth article of the Treaty of Bucarest, which ended the Russo-Turkish War in 1812, abandoned the Serbs to such tender mercies as the Turkish Government might mete out to them. The Turks were to occupy the old, and the Serbs to demolish the new, Serbian fortresses ; the Porte promised to the Serbs 'the same advantages as those enjoyed by the islanders of the archipelago', 'the management of their internal affairs', 'and moderate taxes, to be received directly from themselves'. The next year witnessed the Turkish reconquest of Serbia ; Kara George, losing nerve, crossed into Austria.

But it was at this moment that the second of Serbia's two modern heroes appeared on the scene whence Kara George and the other leaders of the late insurrection had fled. Milosh Theodorovich Obrenovich had not played a very prominent part in that movement. Nearly twenty years younger than Kara George, he was the half-brother of that Milan whom Kara George was suspected of having poisoned, and was so devoted to him that he adopted his half-brother's surname. He, too, had begun life as a herdsman, and had come to riches and such honours as his native district could bestow ; he was raised to further distinctions by the returning Turks as a reward for his aid in pacifying the people, and for a time seemed to use his influence

in the interest of the conquerors. But on Palm Sunday, 1815, he unfurled the banner of resistance under the oak before the church at Takovo—a name ever memorable in Serbian history. The insurgents gained the upper hand; and the Russian Emperor reminded the Sultan of the Treaty of Bucarest. A Turco-Serbian arrangement allowed the Serbs to retain their arms, collect their own taxes, and participate in the administration of justice, while acknowledging themselves the Sultan's vassals; and a sort of national Senate was created at Belgrade. Personal jealousy, however, marred the triumph of Milosh. Kara George, returning from exile, urged him to unite with himself in the national cause. But the crafty Obrenovich had no intention of sharing his glory with another. He informed the pasha of Kara George's presence in the country; the pasha bade him send the Liberator's head to Belgrade. The order was carried out on June 24, 1817, by Vuitsa Vulichevich, the mayor of Semendria, probably by Milosh's orders; and the gory trophy, after having been identified to the satisfaction of the pasha, was dispatched to the Sultan at Constantinople. Thus perished the first pioneer of Serbian freedom; by his death he bequeathed to his countrymen a legacy of hate which survived to the third generation. At length, freed from all rivals, Milosh was recognized in November 1817 by all the head-men as their chief; they also conceded that, after his death, his next of kin should succeed him.

(4) FIRST REIGN OF MILOSH OBRENOVICH I (1817–39)

Milosh was promised in 1820 the recognition of the Porte, which was also willing to fix the amount of the Serbian tribute if the Serbs would accept this as a final settlement. This offer was rejected; and a

Serbian deputation, sent to negotiate at Constantinople, was arrested, and kept under observation for five years. Negotiations were suspended till the Convention of Akkerman (1826) and the special act relating to Serbia (which accompanied it) were ratified and extended the previous Turkish concessions. The Porte undertook to execute without delay the eighth article of the Treaty of Bucarest, to inform the Russian Government of the fulfilment of this undertaking, and within 18 months to settle in concert with the deputies of the Serbian people at Constantinople the points demanded by the latter. These included internal autonomy, the right to choose the chiefs of the nation, and the reunion with Serbia of the six Serbian districts which had been comprised within the jurisdiction of Kara George, but had not taken part in the rising of Milosh. The Porte showed, however, no inclination to perform these pledges given at Akkerman; and matters remained as they were until the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War—a struggle in which, by the express desire of the Russian commander, Diebich, anxious not to provoke Austrian jealousies or Turkish reprisals, the Serbs confined themselves to the work of hindering the junction of a Bosnian force with the Turkish army, just as they remained neutral during the Greek War of Independence.

In the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) they had their reward; the Porte promised to execute without delay the annexe of the Akkerman Convention, and more especially the pledge for the restoration of the six detached Serbian districts. The Imperial decree to this effect was to be communicated to Russia in a month's time; but the usual procrastination of Turkish diplomacy deferred till 1830 the formal grant of Serbian autonomy. No Turks, except the garrisons of the fortresses, were to live in Serbia; Turkish

estates there were to be sold, and the incomes of the *zaims* and *timariotes* assessed and paid to the Sultan, who would compensate his vassals for their lost privileges in the land. The Serbian tribute was fixed, and was to be collected by the Serbs themselves; and, in place of Greek bishops sent from Constantinople, they might choose men of their own race, subject to the approval of the Oecumenical Patriarch. The entire internal administration was entrusted to 'the Prince' (as Milosh was officially designated), who was to exercise his powers in conjunction with the Assembly of the elders. That astute personage had offered to resign in favour of another, now that the work which he had begun seemed to be accomplished; the result of this mock abdication was his re-election by the Assembly and his formal investiture, by the Sultan, on August 3, 1830, as hereditary Prince.

The Porte still hesitating to restore the six separated Serbian districts, Milosh selected a favourable moment, when Turkey was embroiled with Egypt, to foment disturbances among their inhabitants, and invaded them to 'restore order'. Then, at last, in 1833, the Turks recognized the logic of facts; and the Serbian principality, enlarged by one-third, stretched as far as Aleksinats on the south, as the Drin on the west, as the Timok on the east—boundaries which it retained unaltered till the Treaty of Berlin. Within these boundaries, however, there still remained the Turkish garrisons of the fortresses; and the defences of Belgrade were held to constitute a 'fortress', so that the Turkish population remained there. Accordingly, in 1833, Belgrade continued to be exempt from the fresh order which bade all Moslems outside the fortresses leave Serbia within five years; and in 1838 there were still 2,700 Turks in the town—a cause of continual friction between the two states.

With this exception, the principality of Serbia was, so far as internal administration was concerned, free from the interference of the Turks in politics, and of the Greeks in religion. A national Government and a national church had replaced a system of alien rule, although absolute independence had not been obtained. But the peasants had not profited by this change of masters. They complained of being obliged to supply provisions for the local chiefs on journeys, of forced labour, and of other exactions; and their complaints found vent in a revolt, which was suppressed by the powerful chief, Vuchich, at the moment when the insurgents were actually marching on Kraguyevats, where Milosh had fixed the seat of government.

The confirmation of his authority by the Sultan made Milosh more autocratic than before. If he pretended to adapt the *Code Napoléon* to the use of his subjects, he acted as if his will were the only law. The discontent of his friends led to a conspiracy against him in 1835; the conspirators occupied Kraguyevats; and Milosh was forced to call an Assembly and to promise a constitution. This first essay at constitutional government in Serbia—called, from the place of meeting, the ‘Constitution of Sretenye’—created a ministry of six persons, chosen from the Council of State, a committee of leading men which dated from the early days of Kara George’s rising. The Prince was bound to sanction any law thrice approved by the Council,¹ which was to share with him the legislative and executive power, as foreshadowed in the Imperial decree of 1830, and of which all present and past ministers were *ex officio* members. As an arbiter between the Prince and the Council was instituted an annual Assembly, or *Skupshtina*, of 100 deputies, to be elected by the

¹ This enactment appears to have remained a dead letter until 1856. See p. 31, below.

people—a provision which thus regulated and systematized the former haphazard method of convoking such Assemblies. For the time being, however, the jurisdiction of this body was practically restricted to finance.

The ‘Constitution of Sretenye’ was, however, suppressed almost as soon as it had been signed. Austria and Russia protested against it; and the Sultan encouraged Milosh, who was nothing loth, to suspend it. Even his own brother Jephrem joined the Opposition, and was compelled, with Vuchich, to leave the country; while Russia viewed with disapproval the preponderance of the Prince’s authority over that of the oligarchy and the consequent failure of her scheme to make the one counterbalance the other.

At that moment Milosh received support from an unexpected quarter. Lord Palmerston had come to the conclusion that to strengthen the small Christian States of the Near East was the true policy of both Turkey and Great Britain. He saw, as Sir William White saw in our own time, that the Balkan peoples would thus become a barrier against Russian aggression. Accordingly, in 1837, Col. Hodges arrived in Serbia as the first British consul sent thither. Thus the Serbian court became the scene of a diplomatic battle between the western Powers and the Tsar. The Sultan, then under the influence of Russia, could not, however, be persuaded by British diplomacy to support the authority of the Prince against the wishes of his own all-powerful protector. An Imperial decree of December 1838 limited Milosh’s sway by creating a Senate of 17 life members, corresponding to the 17 provinces of the principality. From this Senate four ministers were to be chosen, and all disputes between the Prince and this Council were to be referred to his suzerain.

Milosh was not the man to acquiesce in such a limitation of his powers. He stirred up the peasants, with

the assistance of his brother John, by disseminating the statement that thenceforth they would have not one master, but seventeen. The Senate, however, ordered his enemy Vuchich to suppress this revolt; and the triumphant leader, on his return to Belgrade, entered the Prince's house, and plainly told him that the nation had no further need of him. On June 13, 1839, the second founder of modern Serbia abdicated in favour of his invalid elder son, Milan Obrenovich II, and crossed the Save. On July 9 Milan died, without even knowing that he had been Prince of Serbia. Meanwhile, Vuchich, Jephrem Obrenovich, and the Turcophil Petronyevich continued to carry on the government.

(5) FIRST REIGN OF MICHAEL OBRENOVICH III (1839-42)

The Senate then decided to ask for the appointment of Milosh's younger son Michael Obrenovich III. The Sultan consented, but the patent of investiture omitted all mention of the hereditary character of the princely dignity. A Regency conducted affairs till Michael attained his majority on March 5, 1840; and even then the Porte forced upon him as advisers the two ex-Regents, Vuchich and Petronyevich. This last act was in contravention of the recognized right of the Serbs to choose their own officials, and aroused widespread opposition. The peasants, preferring the rule of one man to that of several, clamoured for the prosecution of the two advisers, the recall of Milosh, and the restoration of the seat of government to Kraguyevats, a place less exposed to foreign influence than Belgrade, a Turkish fortress on the Austrian frontier. Michael consented to return to the former capital, and his advisers sought refuge with the Turkish commander of Belgrade, and subsequently in Turkey

itself. Unfortunately the innate conservatism of the peasantry was alienated by the too progressive policy of Michael's Minister of Justice and Education, an Austrian Serb, who sought to convert this agricultural community of the Orient into a civilized western State. Primitive peoples have always seen in a census a new engine of taxation; the social elevation of the clergy meant expense to the villagers, who shook their heads over the advantages of schools; while the Turkish authorities complained of the creation of a national theatre, where patriotic dramatists glorified the Serbian hero who had slain Murad I on the field of Kosovo.

Naturally this progressive policy cost money; and the most unpopular of all Michael's measures was the increase of the national tax, into which in 1834 all the various imposts had been consolidated. The recall of the exiles, who had sought shelter in Turkey, provided the Opposition with leaders. A 'constitutional' party was formed against the Prince; and Vuchich, putting himself forward in August 1842 as the spokesman of all those who, from one cause or another, were dissatisfied with the Government, demanded the dismissal of Michael's ministers and the reduction of taxation. The Prince, who had committed the mistake of returning to Belgrade, was abandoned by his troops when he marched against the insurgents; and, as the Turkish governor of that fortress favoured them, he had no option but to cross the Save on August 29, as his father had done three years earlier. Vuchich again entered Belgrade in triumph, and, as self-styled 'leader of the nation', formed a provisional Government, which summoned a National Assembly for the election of a Prince. This Assembly met on September 14, 1842, and elected Alexander Karageorgevich, younger but sole surviving son of Kara George, a man 36 years of age, who had been a pensioner of Milosh and an

adjutant of Michael, and whose name and uncompromised past recommended him to the Serbs. The Porte ratified the election; Vuchich, as Minister of the Interior, remained the power behind the throne.

(6) ALEXANDER KARAGEORGEVICH (1842-59)

The Tsar, however, who regarded himself as the virtual protector of Serbia, protested against this change of ruler as illegal and revolutionary, and demanded the deposition of Alexander, a new election, the removal of the Turkish commissioner who had been present at the meeting of the Assembly, and the punishment of Vuchich and Petronyevich. Lord Aberdeen, however, then British Foreign Secretary, advocated the retention of Alexander; and a diplomatic compromise was made, by which the election was annulled on the understanding that the Tsar would not oppose Alexander's re-election. On June 15, 1843, he was re-elected. The new Prince was naturally well disposed to Austria and Turkey, the two Powers which had supported him.

These good relations between Austria and Serbia were greatly strengthened by the action of the Serbs during the Revolution of 1848. A National Assembly of the Austrian Serbs met at Karlowitz, the seat of the Metropolitan, and demanded the nomination of a Patriarch and a *Voïvode*, naming to the latter dignity Colonel Shuplikats, an officer who had served in the Napoleonic wars. Under the banner of 'Emperor and Nationality' they aided the Austrians against the Magyars, and were joined by many volunteers from the principality, despite the remonstrances of the Turkish Government. So far as the Serbs of Austria were concerned, they gained little but the addition of the title of 'Grand *Voïvode* of the Serbian *Voïvodina*'

to the already numerous designations of the Austrian Emperor ; but this co-operation of the two neighbouring branches of the Serbian race led many of the Austrian Serbs to enter the service of Prince Alexander, where their experience was valuable to the principality and kept the foreign policy of Serbia within the orbit of Austria at the time of the Crimean War, when Serbia's geographical and political position placed her in a most embarrassing situation. Turkey was her suzerain, Russia her protectress, Austria her neighbour ; while the British Premier, Aberdeen, had as Foreign Secretary in 1843 instructed Lord Stratford to keep Alexander on the throne. Thus, while the Prince inclined to the Anglo-Turkish side, the peasants were pro-Russian, and some even spoke of the Orthodox Tsar as 'our Emperor'. All the three Powers most nearly concerned demanded a statement of Serbia's intentions. Russia ordered Alexander to dismiss Garashanin, his chief adviser, and a man of modern ideas. A Turkish army approached the southern frontier of the principality and extracted from the Prince a pledge of armed neutrality, while, at Lord Stratford's suggestion, the Sultan issued a new firman, guaranteeing the Serbian privileges. An Austrian force was massed along the frontier to prevent a Russian occupation ; and the importation of war material through Austrian territory was prohibited. Nevertheless, the Serbs resolved to be prepared to defend their country, if it were menaced—and the menace seemed to many to come rather from the Austrian force on the Save than from the Russians on the lower Danube. The principality was militarily organized ; Austria showed signs of impatience ; and both the British and French Governments urged the Serbian envoy, Marinkovich, to give her the satisfaction that she sought by disarming. All excuse for the appre-

hension of a Russian invasion disappeared with the withdrawal of the Russian troops across the Pruth.

Serbian neutrality was rewarded in the Treaty of Paris (1856), which allowed Serbia to continue in the same position as before, her 'rights and immunities' being 'placed thenceforth under the collective guarantee of the contracting Powers'. Her 'independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation', were preserved. The Porte retained the right of garrison, but no armed intervention was to be made without the previous consent of the Powers. The Prince's Austrophil policy, which had won him the sympathy of the Western Powers but had not commended itself to his people, was now, however, less pleasing to one of the former, owing to the close relations between France and Russia after the Crimean War. Thus, while the French and Russian consuls at Belgrade were now united against Austrian influence, a plot for Alexander's removal, on the ground that he was an Austrian puppet, was discovered among the senators. Regardless of the article in the Charter of 1838 which proclaimed that senators could not be punished without the consent of the Porte, the Prince arrested the conspirators. This illegal act provoked the intervention of the Porte, which sent a commissioner to Belgrade to hold an inquiry. Thereupon the Prince gave way, restored the senators to their dignities, and called a Francophil ministry, of which Vuchich and Garashanin were the leading spirits, to his counsels.

But the Senate, having thus vindicated its rights against the Prince, sought to humiliate him, and to change the Serbian Government into a Venetian oligarchy. A proposal, thrice approved by the Senate, was to become *ipso facto* law, even without his approval, so that his veto would be practically abolished. At the

suggestion of the British Ambassador at Constantinople, Sir H. Bulwer, the Serbian leaders summoned a National Assembly, called from the day of its meeting 'the *Skupshchina* of St. Andrew', with the hope of getting rid of the Prince and placing one of the oligarchy in his place. The result was unexpected. The Assembly, after criticizing the Prince's neutrality during the Crimean War, requested his abdication, but insisted that Milosh should be recalled from exile to take his place. The people had thus abandoned the Prince; there remained only the Powers. Russia, never his friend, maintained the right of the Serbs to choose their own ruler; Turkey, afraid of the spread of discontent among the Southern Slavs, and Austria, desirous that the fortress of Belgrade should not fall into Serbian hands, yet afraid to violate the Treaty of Paris by armed intervention, both abandoned him; Bulwer's influence was on the side of peace. Accordingly, on January 3, 1859, Alexander abdicated; but his wily old successor declined to accept the dignity, thus restored to him by his fellow-countrymen, until he had obtained the consent of his suzerain. The Porte did not hesitate to ratify his election, merely passing over in silence the hereditary character which the Assembly had impressed upon it. Then, on February 6, Milosh re-entered in state with his son Michael the country which he had left an exile twenty years before, and began his second reign.

(7) MILOSH RESTORED (1859-60). SECOND REIGN
OF MICHAEL OBRENOVICH (1860-8)

Milosh was 79 years old when he returned to power, and his character was no longer capable of adapting itself to restraint. He at once resumed the arbitrary methods of his former reign, dissolved the Assembly, and banished his chief opponents, telling the British

representative that in Serbia the Prince's will was law, and that neither the Porte nor the Powers should command there. In foreign affairs, however, he showed much greater prudence, abstaining from exploiting the anti-Austrian and pro-Sardinian sympathies of his people during the war of 1859, and promising to send back all fugitive Bosniaks, if the Porte recognized the princely dignity as hereditary in his family. But before his request had been granted, Milosh died, in 1860.

Michael Obrenovich III, who, after the lapse of eighteen years, a second time ascended the throne, represented a new era in the history of Serbia. The Prince was now a man in the prime of life, who had travelled to European capitals and imbibed ideas very different from those of his rugged sire. His proclamation told his people that in his reign the law would be supreme; and the legislation of his first Assembly, establishing a universal income-tax, a national militia of 50,000 men with a French officer as Minister of War, and a legislature based on the payment of taxes and destined to meet every three years, displayed a desire for the reorganization of the country which aroused the suspicions of the Porte. Availing himself of the European Conference held in 1861 at Constantinople for the formal recognition of the union of Wallachia and Moldavia, he raised the Serbian question, and specially insisted that those Turks who still resided in Serbia outside the fortresses should be subject to the jurisdiction of his courts. Turkey complained to the guaranteeing Powers; but, ere long, an event occurred which demonstrated the practical justice of the Serbian argument.

On June 15, 1862, a scuffle ensued in the town of Belgrade (still technically a 'fortress', and therefore still containing a Moslem population), in the course

of which two Serbs were killed by two Turkish soldiers. The Serbian police arrested the latter, and a general conflict began. Quiet was temporarily restored, owing to the intervention of Longworth, the British consul; but on June 17 the real fortress bombarded Belgrade for five hours. A conference of the Powers was convened at Constantinople. Between the two extremes of the Turkish demand for the restoration of the *status quo* and the Serbian claim for the withdrawal of all Turks from Serbia a compromise was effected. Russell had already pointed out that the logic of facts forbade the acceptance of the Turkish contention, the 29th article of the Treaty of Paris that of the Serbian; Bulwer at the conference carried out his chief's instructions; his Austrian colleague pointed out that the evacuation of the fortress of Belgrade would excite the Austrian Serbs. It was finally agreed that the Turks should abandon the Turkish quarter of Belgrade, retaining the fortress, and evacuate the fortresses of Sokol (near the Bosnian frontier) and Uzhitse—the latter of special strategic importance as commanding the communication with Montenegro across the Sanjak of Novibazar.

These two fortresses were dismantled and are now picturesque ruins; the Turkish quarter of Belgrade—with the exception of the Jewish houses, two mosques, and the crumbling remains of the Constantinople gate—was pulled down; and the Turkish garrisons held nothing but the river fortresses of Shabats on the Save, Belgrade, Semendria, Fetislâm (Kladovo), and the island-castle of Ada Kale on the Danube, and the position of Little Zvornik on the Drina, opposite the larger Bosnian town of the same name. The Moslem residents were to sell their property and leave Serbia as soon as possible.

Prince Michael's next object was to obtain the withdrawal of the Turkish garrisons from the fortresses.

While he devoted his energies at home to the improvement of his army, his wife, Princess Julia, and Philip Kristich were sent to London to influence British opinion. Favourable speeches in Parliament by Cobden and Gregory, a member much interested in the Eastern question, drew attention to Serbian affairs. The decline of Austrian influence owing to the Prussian victory of 1866, and the Cretan insurrection, were favourable to Serbia; and a correspondence took place between Ristich and Koumoundouros on the subject of a Serbo-Greek alliance. The Porte yielded, and on March 3, 1867, expressed its willingness to 'confide the guard of the fortresses' to Michael, completely withdrawing the Moslem garrisons, on condition that the Turkish and Serbian colours should wave together from the ramparts. Michael then visited his suzerain; on April 18 the keys of the fortresses were handed to the Serbian authorities, and on May 6 the last Turkish soldier quitted Serbian soil.

Michael's policy had been very successful; but in both foreign and internal policy he was too moderate for the extremists—too little of a Jingo for the former, too much of an autocrat for the latter. To these enemies was added the exiled dynasty, living and plotting in the adjacent Dual Monarchy, and emboldened by the fact that Michael had no legitimate heir. To obviate this, he had separated from his wife and was meditating a second marriage with his cousin, Catherine Constantinovich. While walking with that lady and her mother in the park of Topchider on June 10, 1868, he was assassinated. The Grand *Skupshtina*, whose 523 members included only one lawyer, proclaimed Milan Obrenovich IV, the next of kin, then not yet fourteen years old and studying in Paris, and elected three Regents—Colonel Blaznavats, Minister of War, Ristich, and Gavrilovich, a senator

and geographer—for three years, with a further extension of their Regency in case of need. A Liberal Cabinet was formed; the Regents declared that they would keep Michael's maxim, 'the law is the highest will in Serbia'; and it was arranged that a *Skupshtina* should meet annually. The assassins were punished, and Alexander Karageorgevich, acquitted by an Austrian court, was sentenced in default by a Serbian tribunal, and he and his family were forbidden to enter Serbian territory. Alexander died an exile in 1885.

(8) MILAN OBRENOVICH IV: SERBIA AND THE
EASTERN QUESTION (1868–86)

The murdered Prince had been considering the desirability of granting a larger measure of liberty to his people; and the Regency, despite a law forbidding all modification of the existing form of government during a minority, accordingly produced, in 1869, a constitution which remained in force for the next twenty years. The single chamber, or *Skupshtina*—for Ristich confessed that he could find no elements for a second—was to be three-quarters elective, and one-quarter nominated. Not only officials but also lawyers were declared ineligible; but the Prince could nominate any Serb of thirty years of age who paid 30 dinars in direct taxes. This assembly could be convoked where, and dissolved when, the Prince chose; and its members had no right to initiate legislation. As the Government could, and often did, suspend Acts dealing with the liberty of the subject, of speech, and of the press in case of danger, the constitution of 1869 has been described as a 'thinly-veiled autocracy', and the Radicals agitated against it. The Regency also established

a national currency, and held office till Milan came of age in 1872. Possessed of excellent abilities, he was the victim of his parentage and his education, a gambler and a *roué*, whose career must not blind us to the sterling qualities of the peasant people whom he misgoverned and exploited.

The great Balkan crisis, which began with the Herzegovinian insurrection of 1875, naturally affected Serbia. At first, indeed, Milan was not anxious for war with Turkey, and, when a deputation from his Parliament presented him with an address expressing the impossibility of Serbian indifference to the fate of the Bosniaks and ^{the} Herzegovinians, had replied by dismissing Ristich, his bellicose Premier, the leading advocate of the 'great Serbian' idea. But the Prince of Serbia soon found that he had to reckon with two outside competitors for his shaky throne as well as with the war-party in his own country—Nicholas of Montenegro and Peter Karageorgevich, son of the exiled Prince, and a man of far more military capacity than himself, who placed at the disposal of the Bosnian insurgents his experience gained during the Franco-German War, and distributed medals bearing his image and a telling allusion to the battle of Kosovo. Embarrassed by the comparisons which were drawn between his attitude and that of his two rivals, Milan recalled Ristich to power in the spring of 1876, and accepted the services of Chernaieff, a Russian general, who appeared in Serbia nominally as correspondent of a Pan-Slavist journal. The advice of the Tsar and the British Government, that the Turks should placate Montenegro and Serbia by ceding a port and a little territory to the former and Little Zvornik to the latter, was not adopted in time to prevent war. Ristich demanded that the administration of Bosnia, which was still in revolt, should be entrusted to Milan in

return for a fixed payment ; and on June 30 the Prince of Serbia issued a manifesto to his people, in which, after allusions to Dushan and Milosh, he announced that his army was 'about to enter the disturbed provinces in self-defence'. On July 1 Serbia declared war. Next day Montenegro followed.

The Serbs were not yet the well-organized army of 1912, and in 1876, after two generations of peace, were no match for their old masters. Chernaieff, indeed, crossed the Turkish frontier to the south, and carried one Turkish camp by a sudden attack. But, while the Ottoman general checked the Serbian advance to the east at Zayechar and laid the important strategic post of Knyazhevats in ashes, another descended the valley of the Morava, and completely defeated the retreating army of the south at Aleksinats. Milan, from his head-quarters at Parachin, had already invited the Powers to intervene. An armistice was granted, but the negotiations for a settlement were hindered by his ill-timed proclamation as King at Deligrad on September 16, at Chernaieff's suggestion, and the fighting was resumed. The Serbs made a desperate stand at Dyunis, but in vain ; Aleksinats was lost ; all southern Serbia was in the power of the Turks, and the road was open to Belgrade. Then the Tsar intervened to save Serbia from annihilation. General Ignatieff handed a Russian ultimatum to the Porte, demanding the conclusion of an armistice within 48 hours with both Serbia and Montenegro. The Turkish Government yielded ; and on November 1 an armistice of two months was signed, which was subsequently extended to March 1, 1877, when a definite peace was concluded between Milan and the Sultan. Serbia neither lost nor gained by the war of 1876 ; her territory was left undiminished ; her finances were unencumbered by a war indemnity.

After the fall of Plevna in December 1877, Serbia again declared war. More fortunate than in their previous campaign, the Serbs defeated the Turks at Pirot, whilst Milan, amidst general enthusiasm, entered the ancient Serbian town of Nish. A third victory by General Belimarkovich at Vranje brought the Serbian arms to the verge of the historic plain of Kosovo, and their advance into Old Serbia was only cut short by the armistice of January 31, 1878.

The abortive Treaty of San Stefano (March 3, 1878) assigned to Serbia, as the reward of her two campaigns, a considerable slice of territory, which included Nish and Little Zvornik, while her south-western frontier was drawn in so favourable a manner as almost to touch the extended eastern boundary of Montenegro. The two Serb States would thus have practically joined one another, and an all-Serbian railway might have united Belgrade with the Adriatic, and thereby provided the Switzerland of the Balkans with an outlet on the sea. To these territorial advantages were added the recognition of Serbian independence and the cessation of the tribute, which since 1867 had been the last vestige of Turkish suzerainty. But the Bulgarians would have been the greatest gainers by the Treaty of San Stefano, and the Serbs protested against the inclusion of Serbian regions in the proposed 'big Bulgaria'.

The Berlin Treaty, by allowing Bosnia and Herzegovina to be occupied by Austria-Hungary made the Dual Monarchy a Balkan State, and dealt a severe blow to the aspirations of Serb patriots. Article 25 further gave to the Dual Monarchy 'the right of keeping garrisons and having military and commercial roads' in the Sanjak of Novibazar, which remained as a Turkish wedge between the two Serbian States, a funnel through which Austrian influences and

perhaps Austrian armies (unless the Morava route were preferred) could penetrate into North Albania and Macedonia. A further convention, dated April 21, 1879, between Austria-Hungary and Turkey, while confirming this treaty right, stated that Austrian troops would only be placed at the three points of Priboy, Priyepolye, and Biyelopolye, which last place was almost immediately exchanged for Plevlye. In accordance with Austrian wishes, the territorial additions made to modern Serbia at Berlin were not in Old Serbia, the heart of the mediaeval Serbian kingdom, which still remained Turkish, but at Nish and Vranje, and in the Bulgarian-speaking district of Pirot, thus increasing the principality by one-fourth. Serbia also obtained the formal recognition of her independence, but, like the other two Slav States, she was to pay her share of the Ottoman debt for these new possessions. In 1881, M. Miyatovich, then Serbian Minister for Foreign Affairs, signed a secret convention with Austria, promising to discourage Serbian agitation in Bosnia, on condition that Austria promised to support Serbian pretensions to territory in Old Serbia, or rather 'in the direction of the Vardar valley'. This convention expired in 1889.

On March 6, 1882, Prince Milan, to show the superiority of his position, had been proclaimed King, and Serbia raised to the dignity of a kingdom. But the glamour of this title did not make King Milan popular; his life was attempted in the Belgrade Cathedral, and his peasant subjects rose in rebellion against the arbitrary measures of his 'iron Minister', Kristich, while the Karageorgevich pretender was more threatening because he had married a daughter of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro. Dynastic reasons therefore suggested a spirited foreign policy as the best means of raising the prestige and increasing the popularity of the

Obrenovich family. The aggrandizement of Bulgaria by the union with Eastern Roumelia in 1885 caused a Serbian demand for territorial compensation. Nor were there lacking other motives for a conflict. The Bulgarians coveted Pirot, the Serbs desired Vidin; and the River Timok, by changing its course, had created a delicate question of frontier between the mutually jealous neighbours. A tariff war yet further embittered their relations, so that the news of Bulgaria's aggrandisement found both King and people predisposed for war.

Financially in a bad position—for she had spent much on her railways—Serbia had little to lose; as Garashanin expressed it in a pithy Serbian proverb, 'a naked man will jump far'. All parties were unanimous for war, and the clergy inflamed the peasants. The result was a complete surprise. When, on November 14, Serbia began hostilities, the general belief was that the 'King of Serbia and Macedonia', as the Belgrade populace styled Milan, would have a triumphal march to Sofia. But the three days' battle of Slivnitsa was a Serbian defeat; Milan asked in vain for an armistice; and the Bulgarians were about to march on Belgrade when Austria intervened, and told Prince Alexander of Bulgaria that, if he advanced farther, he would find an Austrian army before him. On November 28 an armistice was signed in Pirot, and on March 3, 1886, the second Treaty of Bucarest restored the *status quo*. Serbia lost neither territory nor money, but she lost prestige; and the memory of Slivnitsa misled politicians in 1912.

(9) MILAN AND ALEXANDER : DOMESTIC POLITICS
(1886-1903)

For some years Serbian history mainly consisted of the domestic quarrels of the royal family. International politics widened the breach between the royal couple, for the King was an Austrophil, while the Queen, as befitted the daughter of a colonel in the Russian army, was an adherent of the Tsar. Public life reflected these tendencies, for the Radicals, or rural party, were Russophil; and of the urban parties, the Progressives and the Liberals, the former were pro-Austrian. At last Milan obtained a divorce from his wife, and followed this domestic victory by summoning a commission on which all the three political parties were represented, and in the labours of which he himself took part with marked ability, for drawing up a constitution far more Liberal than that of 1869. Its most important article was that which made all classes of the community, and not peasants alone, eligible as deputies; but one-fourth of the National Assembly was still to be nominated by the King. Freedom of the press and a lower suffrage were granted; and Milan informed the deputies that they must accept the Constitution as a whole without amendment—a threat which induced them to pass it *en bloc* on January 2, 1889.

Scarcely, however, had this new charter of liberties come into force, when Milan abdicated in favour of his son, Alexander, on March 6, 1889. As the young King was only thirteen years of age, three Regents, all Liberals, were appointed to govern the country, the chief of them being Ristich, who twenty-one years before had been one of Milan's own guardians; the others were Generals Protich and Belimarkovich. The bickerings of the divorced couple kept Serbia, how-

ever, in a constant ferment. At last both the ex-King and Queen not only consented to live abroad for their country's good, but made up their private differences in order to save the throne from the Karageorgevich pretender. Meanwhile, Alexander, who had been hitherto apparently immersed in the study of constitutional history, suddenly amazed his Regents by ordering their arrest at his dinner-table on April 13, 1893, proclaiming himself of age, and dissolving the National Assembly. The success of this *coup d'état* directed against the Regents encouraged him to make another against the Radicals. Accordingly on May 21 of the following year he abolished the constitution of 1889 and restored that of 1869. This drastic act was followed, five years later, by a wholesale proscription of the Radicals.

In 1900 Alexander made the mistake of marrying Madame Draga Mashin, a widow of dubious reputation, whose schemes to secure the succession for one of her brothers—for the royal couple had no heir—aroused jealousies in Belgrade. In vain the King amnestied the Radicals, and in 1901 issued a new constitution, which for the first time gave Serbia a second chamber. A further *coup d'état*, in 1903, by which he suspended this constitution, preceded the palace revolution of the night of June 10, 1903, in which the King, the Queen, and her two brothers were murdered, together with the Premier and the Minister of War. The National Assembly was summoned to choose a new King, and on June 15 unanimously elected Prince Peter Karageorgevich, son of the Prince Alexander who had been deposed in 1859.

Before he arrived from his Swiss exile, the constitution of 1889, with some alterations, was restored. This revised constitution of June 18, 1903, provided for a single chamber, elected by citizens who paid 15 *dinars*

a year in direct taxes, and convened annually in the capital on October 10. Election was to take place by departmental *scrutin de liste*, thus embodying the principle of proportional representation; and it was provided that in each department there must be two candidates furnished with a university degree or the diploma of a high school. A Grand *Skupshtina* of twice the usual number of deputies was to be summoned to decide upon a regency, the succession to the throne, a modification of the constitution, or any cession or exchange of territory. The new sovereign took the oath to this constitution, and, unlike Milan and Alexander, has kept his promise to be 'a true constitutional king'.

(10) KING PETER (1903-9): THE BOSNIAN CRISIS

It was not till 1906, when the chief regicides were placed on the retired list, that Great Britain resumed official relations with Serbia; but the Prince of Bulgaria exchanged visits with King Peter almost within a year of his accession; and this friendly meeting was the forerunner of a Serbo-Bulgarian convention in 1906, which, as the first step to a customs union of the two Slav States, caused a tariff war with Austria-Hungary and an embargo upon the export of Serbian swine into the Dual Monarchy. This conflict was not an unmixed evil, for it led to the discovery of other outlets for Serbian live-stock and tended towards a better understanding with Great Britain, of which the effect was seen in the Eastern crisis of 1908. When, too, the Austrian Foreign Minister, Baron Aehrenthal, earlier in that year announced that leave had been asked to survey the route for a railway across the Sanjak of Novibazar, uniting the Bosnian terminus at Uvats with the

Turkish station of Mitrovitsa, a Serbian counter-proposal for a line from the Danube to the Adriatic at San Giovanni di Medua obtained Italian and Russian support. Thus, under the Karageorgevich restoration, Serbia ceased to pursue the Austrophil policy of Milan; the Progressive party almost disappeared; the Liberals were merged in the new Nationalist group; and the 'Old' Radicals, under M. Pashich, the veteran democrat of the eighties, became, with the 'Young' Radicals, the most important factors in public life.

The formal annexation of the 'unredeemed' Serb lands of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary on October 7, 1908, naturally provoked the fiercest resentment in the two Serb States. At one moment Serbia, where the Crown Prince George led the anti-Austrian party, seemed to be on the brink of war with Austria-Hungary, while Milovanovich, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, made a political tour abroad, demanding a strip of Bosnia which would unite Serbia with Montenegro. Serbia and Montenegro, however, despite the conclusion of a military convention, were too weak to stand alone against their powerful neighbour, especially as the Serbian capital was within range of her guns. The Powers were unable to concert action. Thus force triumphed.

On February 26, 1909, an Austro-Turkish agreement was signed, by which Austria-Hungary renounced all her rights in the Sanjak of Novibazar, whence she had withdrawn her troops on October 28, while Turkey formally recognized the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For Serbia and Montenegro, however, the recognition of the incorporation of so large a Serb population within the Dual Monarchy meant the destruction of their own hopes for the future. At this national crisis a Coalition Cabinet, in which three ex-Premiers sat, was formed at Belgrade. Finding no

prospect of material support from the Powers, Serbia sent a note on March 9 to the signatories of the Berlin Treaty, stating that she demanded no compensation for the annexation, which was a matter for them, and on March 31 recognized that her rights had not been affected.¹ A peaceful solution was facilitated by the action of the bellicose Crown Prince, who on March 25 resigned his right of succession in favour of his brother Alexander. Austria declared that she had no intention of infringing the independence of Serbia; and another Serbian note to Vienna promised that the army should be replaced on a peace footing. But this humiliation was not lost upon Serbia. She at once began to reorganize her army; and her triumphs in 1912-13 may be traced to the bitter lesson inflicted upon her in 1909.

(11) BALKAN WARS OF 1912-13

In September 1911, M. Rizoff, then Bulgarian Minister to the Quirinal, urged his Government to avail itself of the Libyan war to attack Turkey, before she could reorganize her army and while the Italian fleet could prevent the transport of Turkish troops. He was instructed to sound the Serbian Premier, Milovanovich; and at a secret conference of Bulgarian diplomatists in Vienna, where the King of Montenegro was on a visit to the Emperor, further steps were taken, which culminated in the Serbo-Bulgarian treaty of alliance on March 13, 1912. The territory eventually to be conquered from Turkey was to be divided as follows. To Serbia was assigned 'all the territory north of the Shar range', to Bulgaria 'all the region east of the Rhodope range and the Struma river'. Bulgaria desired that 'the intermediate territory' should form an 'autonomous Macedonia'; but, in

¹ *Le Livre Bleu Serbe*, No. 32.

case this should prove to be impracticable, a line was drawn from the point where the Serbian, Bulgarian, and Turkish frontiers met north of Egri Palanka to the north-eastern shore of Lake Okhrida, leaving Kratovo, Veles (Köprülü), Monastir, and Okhrida to Bulgaria, and the districts of Kumanovo, Skoplye, Kirchevo, Dibra, and Struga on the Serbian side. Serbia undertook to make no claims south of this line; and Bulgaria agreed to accept it as a frontier, should the Tsar of Russia, as arbitrator, pronounce in its favour. This treaty was supplemented by a military convention on May 12, providing that, in the event of the action contemplated in the treaty of alliance, Bulgaria was to furnish a force of not less than 200,000 combatants and Serbia one of at least 150,000; if Rumania or Turkey attacked Bulgaria, Serbia was to supply at least 100,000 combatants, while if Austria attacked Serbia, Bulgaria was at once to declare war against Austria and to furnish 200,000 men.¹ The Greco-Bulgarian treaty (described elsewhere²) followed on May 29; and in September 1912 a Serbo-Montenegrin treaty was signed, providing 'for separate military action', so that 'no Turkish town or village was to be occupied jointly by Serbian and Montenegrin troops'.³

Even without the seizure by the Turks of Serbian munitions of war in transit, the Balkan War of 1912 was inevitable; but most diplomatists and military critics were dumbfounded at the sudden and overwhelming triumph of Turkey's 'little neighbours'. On October 8 Montenegro declared war on Turkey. The Balkan ultimatum of October 13 was followed by the Turkish declaration of war on Serbia and Bulgaria

¹ See full text of this Convention, as well as of the Treaties between Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece, in Appendix to *Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series.

² See *Bulgaria*, No. 22 of this series, p. 45.

³ The *Times*, June 4, 5, 6, 11, 13, 16 (1913).

on October 17 and by the Greek declaration of war on Turkey a day later. The Serbs, whose advance into Old Serbia was at first fiercely contested by the Albanian colonies planted there by the Turks after the Berlin Treaty, utterly routed the Turkish army at Kumanovo; and the hope of centuries was realized when on October 26 the Serbian Crown Prince (at the request of the Austrian Consul!) entered Skoplye, the old capital of Dushan's Empire. Prishtina and Prizren, earlier Serbian capitals, likewise fell once more under Serbian sway, and the capture of Monastir completed the Serbian triumph in Macedonia. Thus Kosovo was avenged, and Slivnitsa was obliterated.

These Serbian victories were not only Turkish but Austrian defeats, for a Great Serbia was an obstacle to the *Drang nach Osten*. Accordingly, Austria, backed up by official Italy, opposed the Serbian claim to a port on the Adriatic.¹ Serbia participated in the armistice of Chatalja and the subsequent Balkan Conference in London, resuming the war by the side of her allies, and loyally sending a large contingent (although she had finished her share in the contest, so far as her own interests were affected) to aid the Bulgarians in the siege of Adrianople. The Treaty of London, which was signed on May 30, ceded to the Allies by Article II 'all the territories of the Turkish empire on the European continent to the west of a line drawn from Enos, on the Aegean Sea, to Midia, on the Black Sea, with the exception of Albania'. The 'delimitation of the frontiers of Albania and all other questions concerning Albania' were confided by Article III to the Great Powers.

The division of the Turkish spoils at once caused difficulties between the Allies. The Bulgarians, basing

¹ San Giuliano's dispatch of Nov. 5, 1912, in the Austrian Red Book, *Diplomatische Aktenstücke* (Wien, 1914), pp. 43, 48, 51.

their case on the exact letter of the treaty of alliance, demanded Monastir and Okhrida, which the Serbian troops had occupied. The Serbs, relying on the spirit of the treaty, contended that, whereas Bulgaria had not carried out the military convention of May 12, 1912, they had sent 50,000 men with their valuable artillery to aid the Bulgarians in the siege of Adrianople—an act of comradeship not demanded by the treaty. They further pointed out that the creation of an Albanian State had been effected largely at their expense, and that the opposition of Austria-Hungary and Italy to their retention of Durazzo had cut them off from that outlet to the sea which was the chief object for which they had gone to war. Consequently it had become vital for them to reach the Greek frontier, from which a Bulgarian Monastir would separate them. For these reasons they demanded a revision of the treaty. A month was spent in diplomatic negotiations and recriminations. The two Premiers met at Tsaribrod; the Tsar bade the two sovereigns appeal to his arbitration, as stipulated in the treaty of alliance. Both accepted his invitation, but only on conditions, Bulgaria still insisting on the letter of the treaty, while she refused to demobilize unless the disputed territories were occupied jointly by the two armies—a proposition rejected by the Serbs, who were in possession. The accession of Dr. Daneff to power in Bulgaria in place of the pacific M. Geshoff increased the friction, while the Bulgarian military party, largely recruited from Macedonia, and flushed by its recent successes, intimidated the cautious Ferdinand.

On June 1 a treaty of alliance and a military convention between Greece and Serbia were signed at Salonika.¹ The two Allies guaranteed one another's

¹ First published in the Greek White Book, *Διπλωματικά Έγγραφα*, 1913-17, pp. 6-21.

territories, promised mutual aid in case of unprovoked attack, agreed to make no separate understanding with Bulgaria, pledged themselves to secure a common Greco-Serbian frontier (which was then and there defined), and established Serbia's right to use Salonika as a free port for 50 years. On June 30 this treaty was put to the test by a Bulgarian attack upon the Serbs at Gevgeli, the point of contact between the Serbian and Greek forces, and upon the Greeks at Nigrita, with the object of separating the two Allies. There is documentary proof that these attacks were premeditated; and they were momentarily successful. But the results of the Second Balkan War were a revelation to the critics. The Greek successes are narrated elsewhere; the Serbian victory culminated in the three days' battle on the River Bregalnitsa and on the mediaeval battle-field of Ovchepolye, the plateau dominating the approach to Skoplye. Montenegro, although not directly interested in Macedonia, from motives of solidarity actively assisted the Serbians, who effected a junction with the Greeks at Strumitsa (a Slavonic town promptly ceded by the Greeks to their ally), repulsed a Bulgarian invasion of Serbia, entered Bulgaria, occupied Byelogradchik, and threatened Vidin. Meanwhile the Rumanians, in pursuance of their own interests, had overrun a great part of Bulgaria, though without actually coming into collision with Bulgarian troops. Such was the military situation when the peace conference met at Bucarest, exactly one month after the war had begun. The third Treaty of Bucarest, signed on August 10, made the new Serbo-Bulgarian frontier start from Pataritsa, follow the watershed of the Vardar and the Struma, and join the new Greco-Bulgarian boundary on the Belashitsa mountains. A protocol provided for the settlement of outstanding questions relating to the

old Serbo-Bulgarian frontier by the two parties concerned. All the Powers, at least professedly, acquiesced in the Balkan settlement made at Bucarest.

(12) AUSTRIAN DESIGNS AGAINST SERBIA
(1913-14)

It had been, however, obvious from the time of the Serbian victories in the First Balkan War that Austria-Hungary was only seeking a favourable moment to humble the little State which barred her plans for expansion in the Balkans. The Serbian successes had likewise profoundly stirred the large South Slavonic population in both halves of the Dual Monarchy; and not only Austrian Serbs, but Catholic Croats (united with the Serbs, despite the difference of religion and alphabet, since the pacts of Fiume and Zara in 1905), now looked to Belgrade. Napoleon's short-lived Illyrian State (which had comprised Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes) and the Illyrian movement of Gaj in the thirties had already foreshadowed the idea of an independent Yugoslavia. This idea had now taken the place of Trialism within the Austrian Empire, nor had the Agram High Treason trial of 1909 and the Friedjung forgeries been able to suppress it.

So early as October 30, 1912, Count Berchtold had expressed himself as absolutely opposed to any Serbian outlet on the Adriatic, which M. Pashich, on the other hand, declared to be a 'question of life or death' for Serbia. Sir E. Grey had recognized the justice of the Serbian claim to a commercial outlet on that sea; but on December 17 Serbia had been forced to abandon her demand for direct access, and on January 8, 1913, had promised to 'withdraw from its *Serbian* shores'.

But this did not satisfy Austria. We now know from Signor Giolitti's revelations in the Italian Chamber

on December 5, 1914, that on August 9, 1913 (the day before the signature of the Treaty of Bucarest), he (then Premier) received from his Foreign Minister, San Giuliano, a telegram informing him that 'Austria has communicated to us and to Germany her intention of taking action against Serbia and defines such action as defensive, hoping to bring into operation the *casus foederis* of the Triple Alliance.' San Giuliano considered this 'inapplicable', and his chief took the same view, on the ground that 'there is no question of defence, inasmuch as no one is thinking of attacking Austria'.¹

Further evidence of Austria's designs was furnished a few days later by the statement of M. Take Jonescu, that in May 1913 Count Berchtold had ordered his minister at Bucarest to say that Austria would defend Bulgaria sword in hand. Consequently the assassination on June 28, 1914 (the anniversary of the battle of Kosovo), at Sarajevo, of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife by a student named Princip furnished an excellent excuse for an attack at a moment when Serbia was exhausted after two wars. That the Austrian Note to Serbia was meant to be refused, and so worded as to render war inevitable, we know from the statement made to Senator Garroni, Italian Ambassador at Constantinople, by his German colleague on July 15, 1914, eight days before the communication of the Note to the Serbian Government.² Thus, the Sarajevo murders were the occasion, but not the cause, of the European conflict.

¹ *Collected Diplomatic Documents relating to the outbreak of the European War*, pp. 401-2.

² Sig. Barzilai's speech at Naples, Sept. 26, 1915. Cf. the memorandum of Herr Muehlton.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

ARTICLE XXXV of the Treaty of Berlin secured complete religious liberty for all Serbian subjects and foreigners resident in Serbia, and enacted that religion should not be alleged as a ground for exclusion from 'civil and political rights, admission to public employments, functions, and honours, or the exercise of the various professions and industries'. This is confirmed by Article XVIII of the present constitution. But Article XIX prohibits any act of proselytism directed against the established religion of the State.

Orthodox Church

The overwhelming majority of the Serbians of Serbia belong to the Orthodox Church, which is the established State Church. The Serbian Church is autocephalous (Article 3 of the present constitution), and is absolutely independent of all foreign establishments. It is governed by a synod of five bishops. The Archbishop of Belgrade is Metropolitan of Serbia. The Orthodox, like the other Churches of Serbia, is under the surveillance of the Minister of Education (Article 189 of the present constitution), who also has jurisdiction over all schools, public and private. The Orthodox Church in Serbia is more of a political than a religious force, as is usual in the Balkan States, where as a rule the Church is primarily a nationalizing and patriotic agent. The Serbs are not ardently religious, but they recognize the value for their racial aspirations of their national Church with its splendid historic traditions dating from St. Sava in the early part of the thirteenth

century. There was talk in recent times of reviving the mediaeval Patriarchate of Serbia, and of offering the post to M. Miyatovich, former Serbian Minister in London, who, however, declined.

In the portion of Macedonia annexed by Serbia in 1913, there were about 400,000 to 500,000 'Bulgarians', who acknowledged the Bulgarian Exarch. It is uncertain what change in these numbers has taken place since. There were also a certain number of Greeks, who acknowledge the Greek Patriarch.

Roman Catholics

In the 'old' provinces (i. e. Serbia before the Treaty of Bucarest in 1913) there were 8,435 Roman Catholics, of whom 5,443 were in the city of Belgrade, 412 in the Timok province, 384 in the district of Belgrade, 371 in the province of Nish, and 350 in that of the Morava.

In the 'new' provinces (i. e. the territory acquired by the two Balkan Wars of 1912-13) there were, a little before the outbreak of the European War, 7,127 Roman Catholics, viz. in Yanyevo 2,218, in Prizren 1,988, in Letnitsa 1,586, in Skoplye 618, in Stubla 324, in Monastir (Bitolye) about 200, in Ferisovity 130, and in Mitrovitsa 63. A number of these are Albanians by race. Thus the total of the Roman Catholics in Serbia is 15,562. To these may be added about 600 Greek Uniates around Doiran and Gevgeli.

The relations between Serbia and the Holy See are regulated by the concordat of June 24, 1914, ratified March 20, 1915¹; this constituted a diplomatic victory for Serbia over Austria-Hungary, which opposed the concordat. It creates an ecclesiastical province, composed of the archdiocese of Belgrade for the 'old' provinces, and of the diocese of Skoplye for the 'new'. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Belgrade and the

¹ See Appendix I, p. 116.

Roman Catholic Bishop of Skoplye depend in ecclesiastical affairs directly and exclusively on the Holy See, which, before appointing them, must notify their names to the Serbian Government, to know whether the latter have any political or other non-religious reasons against the appointments. The Serbian Government pays them an annual stipend of 16,000 *dinars* and 10,000 *dinars* respectively, plus a pension. Before taking office they must take an oath of fidelity to the King.

Religious education for Roman Catholics is to be provided in State schools by catechists appointed by the bishop and by the Minister of Education. The catechists are to be paid by the State, and priests may be chosen for these posts. A seminary for training young Serbs for the Roman Catholic priesthood is to be created in or near the capital, and subsidized by the State. The Roman Catholic Church may acquire real and personal property; and the Church buildings, seminaries, bishops' palaces, and parsonages are to be exempt from taxes. An appendix to the concordat permits the Roman Catholics, in such parishes as may be expressly designated, on linguistic grounds, by the Pope, to use the old Slavonic language in the liturgy and the Glagolitic script (the earliest form of Slavonic alphabet, of which the Cyrillic is a modification). In these parishes the prayers, the Epistle, and the Gospel may be read in Slavonic, and may be printed in the characters now in use in Serbia.

It will be noticed that this concordat is extremely favourable to the Holy See. It was followed by the appointment of the first Serbian representative to the Vatican.

Jews

Serbia contains rather more than 10,000 Jews, who are found exclusively in the towns. The largest Jewish

colony is at Monastir; then come in numerical order Belgrade, Skoplye, Shabats, and Nish, which has at most 150 Jews.

Moslems

The Moslems, mostly of Albanian nationality, are chiefly found in the new territories added to Serbia in 1913. Their numbers in these territories are calculated at about 200,000,¹ most of whom, however, speak Serb. They are specially numerous in the departments of Prizren, Mitrovitsa, and Debar (Dibra), but smaller Moslem centres exist at Skoplye, and in the departments of Okhrida and Prishtina.

In the old territories which formed the kingdom prior to 1913, there are at most 3,000 Moslems, concentrated in the districts of Vranje, Toplitsa, and Nish.

Other Smaller Sects

Serbia also contains a few Protestants, mostly foreigners, who numbered 799 in the old territories in 1910, besides a few persons professing other creeds than those specially mentioned.

(2) POLITICAL

The Constitution

The existing constitution of 1903 consists of 202 articles, of which only 95 were applied to the new territories in 1913. The government is declared to be a constitutional monarchy, and in fact it has really been such under the sway of King Peter. The constitution provides that the whole royal family must belong to the established Orthodox Church, and that no member of the King's family may marry without his consent. In case of his absence from Serbian territory,

¹ Another estimate says 400,000; see p. 8.

he is replaced by the heir to the throne, or, if the latter be a minor, by the Council of Ministers. The succession is in the male line ; and, should the successor be a minor at the King's death, a regency of three persons (as in 1868 and 1889) will exercise the royal power. Should the King become unable to exercise that power during his lifetime, the heir, if of age, will reign in his name. Should the King die without heirs, the Council of Ministers must within a month convoke a Grand *Skupshtina* to elect a king.

Only Serbs by birth (and the word ' Serbs ' is defined as including all Serbian citizens without distinction of race or religion) and naturalized Serbs, who have resided five years in Serbia, can become Ministers.

There is a Council of State (*Drzhavni Savet*) composed of sixteen members, chosen as follows : the King submits sixteen names to the *Skupshtina*, which chooses eight ; and the *Skupshtina* in turn submits sixteen names to the King, who chooses eight. The chief functions of this Council are to draw up laws at the Government's request, to give advice on questions submitted to it by the Government, and to examine Bills introduced by the Government or by private members in the *Skupshtina*. This advice is not binding on either the Government or the *Skupshtina*, but must be communicated to the latter before the debate begins ; and the Council may delegate one or two of its members to defend its advice before the *Skupshtina*. It also acts as supreme court of appeal in election petitions. The quorum in the *Skupshtina* is one-half of the members plus 1, as formerly in Greece. The natural result of requiring so large a quorum (84) is, as it was in Greece, that the Opposition can easily practise obstruction by simply staying away. A case recently occurred at Corfu.

The foregoing provisions apply to the whole kingdom.

The following apply only to the old kingdom of Serbia, as it was prior to 1913 :

Every male of 21 years of age, paying 15 *dinars* of direct taxes annually, is an elector ; all Serbs by birth or permanently settled in Serbia, being 30 years of age at least, and paying at least 30 *dinars* of direct taxes, are eligible for membership of the *Skupshtina*.

The new provinces have so far had no parliamentary representation.

Government employees are ineligible, excepting :

1. Cabinet Ministers in, or out of, office.
2. Members of the State Council.
3. Ministers extraordinary and plenipotentiaries accredited to foreign courts, and diplomatic agents.
4. Judges.
5. Professors of universities and middle schools.
6. Engineers and doctors in the State service.
7. Pensioners and officials *en disponibilité*.

The elections are by departmental *scrutin de liste*, there being one deputy for every 4,500 taxpayers. Each list of candidates must contain two persons who have completed their course in either a university or a higher technical school. Each deputy receives travelling expenses and 15 *dinars* daily.

Elections take place every fourth year on September 21 (N.S.) ; and the *Skupshtina* meets annually on October 14 (N.S.). It consists of 166 members. At the last elections, those of 1912, just before the First Balkan War, these were divided as follows :

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|----|
| ' Old ' Radicals | . | . | . | . | 88 |
| ' Young ' Radicals | . | . | . | . | 47 |
| Nationalists | . | . | . | . | 22 |
| Progressives | . | . | . | . | 7 |
| Socialists | . | . | . | . | 2 |

Political Parties

The 'Old' Radicals, whose chief is M. Pashich (Premier continuously since 1912), comprise also the following leading men: MM. Stoyan Protich and Andra Nikolich (late Speaker). The 'Young' Radical party arose in 1901 from a split in the Radical organization, because the 'Young' Radicals disapproved the action of M. Pashich in accepting King Alexander's constitution of that year, which for the first time gave Serbia a second Chamber. The 'Young' Radicals also demanded universal suffrage, instead of the taxation qualification. Their leader is M. Milorad Draskovich; and his chief lieutenants are MM. Yasha Prodanovich, Lyubomir Stoyanovich, Lyubomir Davidovich, and Milan Markovich. The Nationalists represent the old Liberal party of the late M. Yovan Ristich, the Regent and Premier of the two last Obrenovich sovereigns. They only became a separate party early in the present reign, when M. Ribarats organized them against the regicides, and they were soon joined by the remaining Liberals. Their leader is M. Voislav Velkovich, whose chief lieutenant is M. Radoslav Agatonovich. Their programme is Conservative at home and in foreign affairs a great Serbia. The Austrophil Progressives are led by MM. Pavle and Voislav Marinkovich, two brothers. Socialism, as is natural, is only a very recent growth in a so purely agricultural and peasant State as Serbia. Its two representatives, MM. Dragisha Lapchevich and Yovan Kazlerovich, both represent urban constituencies—Belgrade and Kraguyevats.

(3) EDUCATIONAL

Serbia has been building up her national education, and latterly the progress has been rapid. The number

of children receiving elementary education was trebled between the years 1870 and 1898; and a series of secondary schools has been erected on this basis, culminating in the national University of Belgrade. There were in the kingdom of Serbia, in 1906, 1,172 primary schools, and 20 gymnasia and Real-schulen. The university had 80 professors and 1,000 students. Belgrade University is becoming an intellectual focus for the whole South Slavonic race; but at the same time there has been a notable increase in the number of Serbs who seek a university education in the greater centres of culture abroad at Agram (Zagreb, the capital of Croatia-Slavonia), Prague, and Vienna, and the universities of Germany and France.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Austria succeeded in 1913 in preventing Serbia from obtaining an outlet to the sea, because she feared that the economic development of the latter would only accentuate the desire for union which already existed between the Jugo-Slavs under Austrian domination and Serbia. It was then of paramount importance that Serbia should have such an outlet, because at that time the prospect of an early liberation of the Jugo-Slavs seemed very remote; and, knowing this, she had to accept a temporary solution, which would place her in a favourable position to realize her national aims in the future. These aims are now fully put forward by the whole Jugo-Slav race.¹

¹ For the Conference of Corfu, and other information as to these aims, see *The Jugo-Slav Movement*, No. 14 of this series.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(a) *Roads and Tracks*

IN the Middle Ages, during Serbia's prosperity, the principal directions of movement in that country were towards Ragusa, Salonika, and Constantinople. The Turkish invaders destroyed these routes, such as they were, and created new highways adapted to their military requirements. After the liberation of the country, some attempt had to be made to remedy the deplorable condition of neglect in which it had been left by the Turks. The first road law, promulgated in 1864, introduced a road system which included the centres of government and the chief trading towns, and was largely based on the principal movements of trade, but which was also intended to facilitate communications between the interior and the frontiers for the purpose of defence. The law, framed on the French model, made the use of roads free to all, but provided for the levy of tolls at ferries and at the principal bridges. In 1896 the tolls were abolished.

Roads in Serbia are divided into three categories: State, departmental; and district. The departmental roads form the largest class, the State roads the smallest. The total length of roads, including the more important tracks, amounted in 1908 to 10,806 km., of which 3,160 km. represented first-class roads. The principal road centres are: in the north, Shabats, Valyevo, Belgrade, Kraguyevats, Pozharevats, and

Negotin ; in the centre, Uzhitse, Chachak, Kralyevo, Krushevats, Nish, Zayechar, Knyazhevats, and Pirot ; in the south, Prizren, Prishtina, and Leskovats ; and in Serbian Macedonia, Skoplye (Üsküb), Veles (Köprülü), Shtip (Ishtib), Kirchevo, Prilip, and Monastir.

The planning of the roads is subject to the approval of the Minister of Public Works, who also has charge of their construction and upkeep.

Mountain tracks abound everywhere, but for the most part they are dusty in summer and muddy in winter, and pack animals are the only form of transport that can be used on them. Many second-class roads have been converted into first-class owing to military needs.

(b) Rivers

Except for the Save, the Danube, and the Morava, Serbia possesses no navigable rivers.

The Danube, from Belgrade to the Iron Gates, is navigable for vessels drawing $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. of water, but shallows abound and navigation is difficult. The channel at the Iron Gates has been widened and deepened, but neither sea-going nor sailing vessels ascend above this point, the former on account of the shallows, the latter because of the current. From the Iron Gates to the sea the Danube is navigable for vessels drawing up to 10 ft.

The Save is navigable for steamers as far as Sisek (in Croatia-Slavonia), a distance of 366 miles, but owing to sandbanks and a shifting channel is of no great commercial value.

The Drina could be made navigable as far as Zvornik (40 miles), but not without considerable expense. At present only rafts make use of it.

The Morava is the chief Serbian river, and is navigated from its junction with the Danube up to Nish, although above Stalach it is little better than a moun-

tain torrent. When the river is in flood, steamers can ascend from the Danube for about 8 miles; otherwise it is only navigable by barges. Below Tyupriya, 100 miles from the Danube, the commercial value of the river might be much increased by canalization.

The other principal rivers in Serbia are of no use as means of communication, except for floating timber.

The only river of Serbian Macedonia is the Vardar, with its tributaries the Lepenats, Bregalnitsa, and Tsrna. The main stream, though wide, is much obstructed by rapids, and none of the tributaries are navigable, though all are important as offering lines of communication through the mountains.

The Royal Serbian Shipping Company was established in 1890, with a purely Serbian capital of 3,000,000 francs. In October 1893 the company's ships made their first journey on the Danube, from Raduyevats to Regensburg, and on the Save, from Belgrade to Shabats. At the outbreak of the European War the company possessed 13 steamships, 60 barges, and 20 pontoons.

(c) *Railways*

In 1908 there were within the then boundaries of Serbia about 700 km. of railway line; in 1918, so far as can be ascertained, there were approximately 2,000 km., of which 450 km. were in Serbian Macedonia. This total includes both standard- and narrow-gauge lines, private industrial lines, and certain important military lines laid in the course of the war. The most important construction took place between 1879 and 1888, a period which saw the linking up of Belgrade, Nish, and Sofia. It is reported that at the outbreak of the European War some 500 km. of line were under construction within the old boundaries, while 400 km.

were projected in Serbian Macedonia, but the former figure at least is almost certainly exaggerated.

The construction and management of the railways is regulated by the law of 1898, with subsequent additions. At the end of 1903 the total value of the railway lines and rolling stock belonging to the Serbian State was reckoned at 126,736,083 francs. For the five years 1904-8, the average profit was 4,642,823 francs, the ratio of expenditure to receipts being approximately 50 per cent.

The existing railway system is as follows. The main artery is the Belgrade-Salonika line (700 km.), of which, however, the section Gevgeli-Salonika (78 km.) lies beyond the frontier, while the section Zibevche-Ristovach-Gevgeli (253 km.) is in Serbian Macedonia. The section Belgrade-Nish (245 km.) forms the Serbian State Railway, which was taken over from a French company in 1889. From Nish to Salonika the line belongs to the *Compagnie des Chemins de fer Orientaux* (Baron Hirsch).

In 1915 the average traffic was about four trains daily each way. The rolling stock and locomotives have, however, been added to considerably during the war, and the maximum carrying capacity of the line is now estimated at 18 trains of 30 or 40 trucks daily in each direction. The locomotives use partly wood and partly coal. The sharpest curve has a radius of 255 m., and the steepest gradient is 1 in 66, near Kumanovo. Rivers are crossed by good iron girder bridges supported by stone pillars. The track is single, and of standard gauge (4 ft. 8½ in.). Trains can pass each other at every station.

Connected with the main artery are a number of branch lines, of which only a certain number are of standard gauge, a fact which interferes seriously with their economic value. On the principal (and probably

all) light railways the gauge is 2 ft. 6 in. (0·76 m.). These lines, some of which are merely industrial lines not open to general traffic, are, taken from north to south, as follows :

East of the main line.

(1) A standard-gauge line from Velika Plana goes along the Morava valley for $27\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Smederevo ; from Osipaonitsa, on this branch, a line runs eastward to Pozharevats, being the one completed section of a line projected from Belgrade to Negotin.

(2) A line goes from Tyupriya (Ćuprija) to the Senski Maydan mines.

(3) A narrow-gauge railway from Parachin to Zayechar (66 miles) connects the line from Nish to Belgrade with the line from Nish to Prahovo.

(4) Light railways run from Tyityevats (Ćićevac) to Sveti Petar (16 miles) for hauling timber, and to the Moravats coal mines ($2\frac{1}{4}$ miles).

(5) From Nish a line runs north through Knyazhevats and Zayechar to Prahovo (64 miles) ; it is important as being a section of the main line from the Adriatic to Rumania. From Zayechar there is connexion by the narrow-gauge railway mentioned above with Parachin.

(6) From Nish runs the important line through Pirot to Sofia ; it goes through the Nishava gorge, in which there are five tunnels.

(7) A line has been constructed by the Bulgarians from Kumanovo to the frontier at Gyushevo (Cujevo), joining the existing line from Sofia to Kyustendil.

(8) From Veles there is a Decauville extension to Shtip.

(9) From Hudova (Strumitsa Station) there are branches to Tsestovo, Bogdantse, and Sermenli.

West of the main line.

(1) A standard-gauge line from Mladenovats runs (42½ miles) through Arangyelovats to Lazarevats, where it joins the line from Obrenovats through Laykovats to Valyevo.

(2) A standard-gauge line runs (17½ miles) from Lapovo to Kraguyevats ; it is of military importance, as there is a large arsenal at Kraguyevats.

(3) From Stalach the Western Morava line runs (102 miles) through Krushevats, Kralyevo, and Chachak to Uzhitse; it is of standard gauge as far as Krushevats. It is believed to have been linked up with the Bosnian system at Vardishte.

(4) From Skoplye a standard-gauge line goes northwest to Mitrovitsa (75 miles), crossing the Kachanik defile ; about 5 miles from Skoplye a Decauville extension branches to the left through Kalkandelen (Tetovo) and Gostivar to Struga on Lake Okhrida near the Albanian frontier.

(5) From Gradsko a Decauville extension runs to Prilip, and after passing Resne joins the last-named line at Struga.

The following lines are independent of the main line or are connected with it by cross lines :

(1) A narrow-gauge line running (36 miles) from Shabats on the Save to Loznitsa and Kovilyatsa. This is not connected with the main system, but a ferry across the Save at Shabats connects it with a Slavonian line at Ruma.

(2) A standard-gauge line from Obrenovats on the Danube running up the Kolubara valley to Valyevo; at Lazarevats a line connects it with Mladenovats, and at Laykovats a line has been started to connect it with Chachak (*via* Gornyi Milanovats), the southern section of which was well advanced in 1915.

(3) A narrow-gauge line, not connected with the main line, running (34 miles) from Dubrovitsa on the Danube to Petrovats; the line is being continued to Zayechar, and is said to have been constructed as far as Zhagubitsa.

(4) A private line from Vrchka Chuka, south-east of Zayechar, going along the Timok valley to the Danube. Its bridges and permanent way are weak. Near Vrazogrnki it connects with the Parachin-Zayechar line.

(5) The line from Salonika through Florina to Monastir only runs through Serbian territory for a few miles of its course.

Of projected lines the most important are :

East of the main line.

(1) Belgrade-Pozharevats-Negotin (including the Osipaonitsa-Pozharevats section reported complete).

(2)† Gradsko-Shtip-Bulgarian frontier.

West of the main line.

(1) Valyevo-Loznitsa.

(2) Kraguyevats-Kralyevo-Rashka-Mitrovitsa.

(3) Rashka-Novibazar-Bosnian frontier (at Uvats, the present terminus of the Bosnian system).

(4) Nish-Prishtina-Prizren-Dibra.

(5) Gostivar-Dibra.

(6) Struga-Albanian frontier (continued to Elbasan and the coast at Durazzo).

The chief importance of these projects lies in the connexion which they provide with the Adriatic coast, guaranteed to Serbia by the Treaty of London in 1913.

There are numerous other lines the construction of which was contemplated by the Railway Act of May 25, 1913, but they are of a subsidiary character.

(d) Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones

In 1843, when the Austro-Hungarian Government had established a consulate at Belgrade, it organized the Serbian postal service. In the same year the Serbian Government organized a postal service for local needs and established post offices, &c., and in 1868 it concluded a postal convention with Austria-Hungary, by which it undertook the entire service itself.

The first telegraph line was that between Belgrade and Aleksinats (1855). In 1866 Serbia joined the International Telegraphic Union. In 1899 a direct line of telegraph was established between Budapest and Sofia. By 1906 a similar line was installed between Budapest and Constantinople. In 1909 there were between 3,000 and 4,000 kilometres of telegraph line.

The telephone service was established in 1899, and in 1910 Serbia joined the Universal Telephone Union.

Plant for wireless telegraphy was installed at Belgrade just before the war.

Between 1904 and 1908 the number of post offices in Serbia rose from 1,240 to 1,492, and of telegraph offices from 173 to 181, while between 1906 and 1908 the length of telephone lines increased from 1,446 to 2,126 km.

(B) INDUSTRY**(1) LABOUR**

The supply of labour in the old kingdom of Serbia has hitherto been ample. The cultivable land is nearly all divided into small free holdings, which are tilled by their peasant owners. Factories are few, notwithstanding recent efforts of the State to stimulate manufacture, and those that exist obtain sufficient labour for their needs from the inhabitants of the towns,

though these represent only 17 per cent. of the total population of the country. In 1908 the total number of hands in Serbian factories was 11,770, and between five and six thousand were employed in the mines. It is of course possible that the attachment of the Serbians to the land may stand in the way of future expansion in the mining and manufacturing industries ; but the lot of the Serbian peasant is not altogether happy, and the chance of earning high wages, even at a factory in a town, would probably overcome his natural inclinations.

The population of the old territories of Serbia, in contrast to that of the neighbouring States, has been but very slightly affected by emigration or immigration. In former times some of the inhabitants of the eastern provinces used to go to Rumania for the harvest, but since the development of the mining industry in east Serbia the practice has ceased. Among the suggested causes of the remarkable stability of the population are Serbia's lack of access to the sea, her democratic constitution, and the prevalence of peasant proprietorship.

As for labour conditions, the status of the Serbian cultivator will be discussed below. For the interests of the factory-worker great concern is shown by the State, which compels employers to conduct their works on modern hygienic principles, and has put into force a scheme of insurance against accidents and sickness, under which most of the charges are borne by the employer.

In the new territories of Serbia, the labour problem promises to be more difficult. Here, owing to the insecurity of life and property and the unsatisfactory agrarian system, the urban population is relatively larger, and there will probably be no lack of labour for any manufacturing enterprises that may be promoted in the near future. It is rather in agriculture

that a shortage is likely to be felt. Even before the Balkan Wars Macedonian landlords who wished to farm their own estates were often unable to obtain the necessary labour, and after the recent troublous times the supply will doubtless be smaller than ever. Moreover, there is in Macedonia much excellent land which has lain fallow for years and which is a potential source of great wealth, but, unless there is a large influx of settlers from abroad, most of it will probably have to remain uncultivated for a long time to come.

The labour supply of Serbia's new provinces has suffered greatly from emigration. Under Turkish rule many Christians left the country, and after the Balkan Wars numerous Slavs with Bulgarian sympathies are said to have emigrated to Bulgaria. During and after these wars, moreover, large numbers of Moslems were killed or driven into exile, and those that remained were generally anxious to dispose of their property and withdraw to regions still under Turkish rule. The gaps in the population were partly filled by settlers from the old kingdom of Serbia, and by Serbs who returned home from overseas or emigrated from the parts of Macedonia allotted to Greece; but even with these a considerable deficiency had still to be made good. It is unfortunately probable that any settlement of the Balkan question will be followed by a further displacement of the population of Macedonia.

(2) AGRICULTURE

(a) Products of Commercial Value

Old Territories

Serbia is pre-eminently an agricultural country. In the territories that formed the kingdom before the Balkan Wars, 87 per cent. of the population were engaged in agricultural pursuits, and, in 1911, 88 per cent.

of Serbia's exports were agricultural products. At this time about one-third of the area of the old kingdom was cultivated, and its agricultural produce was more varied than that of any other Balkan State. Only the highest slopes of the mountains are barren. The most fertile region is the plain of Machva, where the soil is excellent for cereals. The Morava valley is also very productive, cereals, beet, and hemp being cultivated along it, while towards its southern end tobacco, the poppy, and the mulberry are largely grown. Other districts favourable for crops are the plains between the Mlava and the Pek, and the Timok valley. On the hills in the east there are vineyards, meadows, and good pasture ; the mountains in the north-east and south are covered with extensive forests ; and the south-west abounds in orchards, with wide tracks of pasture on the plateaux. The following paragraphs deal separately with the chief classes into which the agricultural products fall.

Cereals.—In 1909, 3,072,000 acres were under cereals—an increase of 617,000 acres since 1900. Maize covered 1,444,000 acres, wheat 933,000, barley 328,000, and oats 266,000. The maize was mostly consumed in the country, where it constituted the staple food of three-quarters of the population and was also largely used for fattening pigs. In consequence the export of maize was comparatively small, its average annual value from 1905 to 1911 being £413,000. During the same period, wheat, though less widely cultivated, was exported to the average value of £622,000 a year. The variety called 'red wheat' was largely grown, and efforts were being made to improve the wheat-crop in general by the purchase of seed-grain from Hungary and other foreign countries. Barley, for which both climate and soil are very suitable, was valued as food by the inhabitants of the mountain districts, but was

used mainly for feeding cattle and brewing. From 1905 to 1911 the exports of barley were valued, on an average, at £158,000 a year. Oats were also exported, but much the greater part of this crop was consumed at home. Successful experiments have been made in the cultivation of rice, which would thrive in the marshy parts of the country, but hitherto it has not received much attention.

Commercial plants.—Sugar-beet was introduced in 1900 by a German undertaking. In the last few years before 1914 its cultivation was increasing, especially in the Morava valley, where it does particularly well. The same valley, especially in its upper reaches, also produced a considerable quantity of hemp. Hempen thread and rope were made in the homes of the peasants, and in recent times were exported to the value of about £40,000 a year. The production of hempen goods, however, had of late declined. Tobacco was grown in the country watered by the upper Morava and its tributary, the Western Morava. The best was said to come from Aleksinats and Uzhitse. The cultivation and sale of tobacco is a State monopoly, and before the Balkan Wars the industry was considered by experts to have a great future. Nevertheless the export of tobacco was declining, and its revival is hardly to be expected, as Serbian Macedonia, which is admirably suited for growing tobacco, already produces very large quantities, and is likely to attract capital which, before the Balkan Wars, would have been invested in the old kingdom.

Vegetables.—Vegetables of all kinds do well in Serbia; and a vegetable-convert factory, which was established at Kraguyevats a year or two before the Balkan Wars, promised to become very prosperous. The industry should be capable of great expansion.

Fruit.—The climate and soil of the old territories of

Serbia are specially suitable for fruit-growing. While many kinds of fruit flourish, plums are by far the most important. About 350,000 acres, mostly in the west, were devoted to them. In 1911 the value of the plums exported was over £720,000. In 1915, a year unfavourable for husbandry, the quantity produced was estimated at 165,000 metric tons, and crops twice as large have often been known. Some of the plums were sent fresh to Austria and Germany, but most were exported as prunes, the preparation of which was an important Serbian industry. Before 1906 the prunes went principally to Austria, whence many were re-exported under the name of Bosnian prunes; but during the tariff war with Austria, which lasted from 1906 to 1910, they were as far as possible sent direct to their ultimate destinations. Plum marmalade was also made in considerable quantities and largely exported. What remained of the crop was mostly made into *slivnitsa*—plum brandy, the Serbian national drink—which was mainly consumed in the country.

Many parts of the old kingdom of Serbia are suited to the cultivation of the vine, and Serbian wines are held by experts to rank high among the wines of Europe and to resemble those of southern France and Spain. Before 1880 there was an export trade in wine, but in that year the phylloxera invaded Serbia, the area under vines declined, and of late all the wine produced has been consumed in the country. Societies were formed to grapple with the pest, and the State has assisted in the importation of American vines, which have been grafted on to the native stock with good results. From 1904 to 1909 the average annual value of the vintage was about £1,280,000, and in the latter year the vineyards covered some 76,000 acres. By 1914, however, the area had been largely increased, and great hopes of the complete recovery of

the industry were entertained. It is probable, however, that it will suffer from the competition of the new territories, which are particularly well adapted to viticulture.

Live-stock.—The raising of live-stock is the most profitable branch of agriculture in Serbia. In 1911 the exports of animals and animal produce were of a value of £1,400,000.

Pig-breeding was of special importance. Nearly all the peasants kept pigs, which brought them considerable profits. The best native pigs are those of the Shumadiya breed, which is found all over the country : these pigs are strong, fatten quickly, and reach a weight of nearly 400 lb. Experiments have been made in the crossing of native breeds with Berkshire and Yorkshire pigs, with good results as regards the quality of the meat and lard, though it appears that the cross-bred animals cannot stand the climate as well as the indigenous varieties. In the last few years before the Balkan Wars the number of pigs in the country diminished, and the export of live pigs declined, the main cause being the tariff war with Austria. On the other hand, the export of fresh and salt pork, bacon, and lard increased, and a treaty concluded with Austria in 1910 was expected to lead to a recovery of the trade in live pigs.

The horned cattle of Serbia are somewhat small, and seldom of a pure breed. Nevertheless they are highly appreciated abroad, and it is stated by Italian veterinary surgeons and sanitary inspectors that their flesh has a good taste and colour and that tuberculosis is unknown among them. The best herds were found in the fertile plains of the Kolubara, the Yasenitsa, and the Resava. Seemental cattle from Switzerland have been crossed with Serbian cattle ; but, though the experiment was not unsuccessful, it is thought that

better results would be obtained by the careful crossing of different varieties of the native stock. Recently Serbian cattle have tended to diminish in numbers owing to the conversion of pasture into arable land; and, in addition, the export trade has been adversely affected by the fiscal policy of Austria. After the European War, however, especially if Serbia gains access to the sea, cattle-breeding should soon recover its former prosperity.

The raising of goats and sheep has likewise suffered somewhat from the curtailment of pasture land. As regards goats, while their milk provides a valuable part of the peasants' diet, there is a serious set-off to their economic value in the harm they do to the forests. Sheep, which are more numerous, are also prized for their milk. Their wool, however, is not in general of good quality, though an improvement has been effected by crossing native stock with the Hampshire breed. In 1911, 62,000 sheep, valued at £35,000, were exported.

Serbian horses are small, but of great endurance. They have been successfully crossed with the English-Normandy strain, and could be further improved by interbreeding with Russian and Arab stock. Considerable numbers were exported, but Serbia was obliged to rely on foreign countries for certain types, especially those used by the army.

Mention should here be made of the stud-farms established by the State with the object of improving the breed of horses and other animals. The oldest and most important of these was established sixty years ago at Dabricevo. In 1914 it had branches at Lyubichevo and Bela-Reka, and there were also a number of centres where pedigree animals were available for horse- and cattle-breeders.

Of no less value to the stock-raising industry was the establishment of large slaughter-houses with modern

plant. Of these there were five, one at Belgrade, one at Mladenovats, two at Velika Plana, and one at Yagodina. Before the first of these slaughter-houses was erected, the exports of the Serbian stock-breeder consisted almost entirely of live animals, nearly all of which were sent to Austria; and the exporters often suffered grave loss through the arbitrary judgements of Austrian sanitary inspectors and sudden changes in Austrian fiscal policy. After it became possible, however, for Serbian farmers to have their animals slaughtered on a large scale within the country, their risks were much reduced, and even the tariff war with Austria did them comparatively little injury. The country, moreover, was able to utilize the offal of the slaughtered animals, which under the old system of export was entirely lost, but which, among other uses, now provided raw material for two soap factories and a spodium factory.

Poultry is abundant, and was exported in 1911 to the value of £140,000. The State established several model poultry-farms, stocked with the best foreign breeds, and distributed good birds gratis among the peasants. Poultry-farming should become one of the most remunerative industries in Serbia.

Bees.—Bee-keeping has always flourished in Serbia. Schools for the instruction of the peasants in scientific apiculture were established by a society founded at Belgrade in 1897. The results were excellent, and in the years immediately before the European War the country was producing enough honey and wax for its own needs.

Silk.—Sericulture, which flourished in the Middle Ages, decayed utterly under Turkish rule; but in quite recent times efforts to revive it have met with some success. Nurseries for the cultivation of mulberry-trees were founded at Tyupriya and Pozharevats; and

it was hoped that wide areas of the country would soon be planted. Silk-worm eggs produced on the Pasteur system were distributed free by the Government to the peasants. In the last few years before the war, the average annual production of the country amounted to about 400 tons of cocoons. There was a silk-winding mill at Lapovo.

New Territories.

Detailed information and statistics about the provinces acquired by Serbia in the Balkan Wars are lacking. As in other parts of the Turkish Empire, the natural resources had never been developed, life and property being insecure, the population scanty, and methods of cultivation primitive. Of the total area of the new territories not more than 8 per cent. was cultivated ; of Serbian Macedonia not more than 5 per cent., though here at least half the land is suitable for agriculture, and much of it is virtually virgin soil of great fertility. If peace and security be assured, the prospects of agriculture will, therefore, be excellent.

About 88 per cent. of the cultivated land was under cereals. Of these rice was much more largely grown than in the old territories, and flourished especially in the Kosovo and Kochana districts. The principal centre of the cultivation of cereals, however, was Skoplye and its neighbourhood, where maize, barley, and oats were the chief products. Before the Balkan Wars the export of cereals from the new provinces was of a value of about £80,000 a year. Tobacco-growing was very remunerative, and the value of the tobacco exports exceeded £200,000 a year. As was remarked above, Serbian Macedonia is particularly well suited to this industry. The production of opium was expanding rapidly, the poppy being largely cultivated in Eastern Macedonia, particularly in the Vardar valley. Before

the Balkan Wars the value of the annual export of opium was sometimes as much as £280,000, and in 1915 the value of the crop was estimated at £400,000. An opium market had been created at Skoplye, and cultivators of the poppy, who used to be at the mercy of speculators from Salonika, were being helped by advances made by the Agricultural Bank of Serbia and the Banque Franco-Serbe. The newly-acquired territories are also well fitted by climate and soil to become a great wine-producing area. The best grapes were grown in the Tikvesh district. The area under vines, however, was small, though a certain amount of wine was exported. The production of silk is another industry of promise, the climate being very favourable for mulberry-trees. Among the chief centres of silk-worm culture were Gevgeli, Tikvesh, Prilip, and Skoplye. Before the Balkan Wars, the value of the cocoons exported reached £120,000 a year.

In the new territories there is a great extent of pasture land, but much of it is poor owing to general neglect in the past. Under Turkish rule, the farmers knew nothing of scientific methods of stock-raising, which was consequently in a much more backward state than in the rest of Serbia. There has been but little pig-breeding—a result of Moslem domination—and such pigs as exist are of a poor breed, resembling the wild species. Horned cattle are generally badly fed and ill-favoured: the breed is said to be the smallest in Europe, and a team of several oxen is required to pull the primitive wooden plough which is commonly used. The cows yield little milk, and that of poor quality. The best cattle used to be found in the neighbourhood of Prilip and Monastir.

The raising of sheep has been more successful, and before the war they were far more numerous than oxen, though still few in comparison with those of the old

territories. They were kept in large flocks, which in summer fed on the mountains and in winter on the plains, some being taken as far south as Thessaly. Those that remained on Serbian territory were exposed to severe vicissitudes of weather—one of the causes of the poor quality of their wool. The sheep are hardy but small, the weight of a ewe ranging from 3 to 6 stone and that of a ram from 6 to 12 stone—about half the weight of sheep of the Hampshire breed. Their wool is coarse and scanty, the average yield being less than half that of an English sheep.

There is, however, no reason why stock-raising should not become a highly successful industry in the new territories of Serbia. An immediate improvement would be effected by the introduction of stock from the old kingdom; in fact, the Serbian Ministry of Agriculture had in 1914 begun to take measures to this end. There can be no doubt that the development of the industry would immensely raise the economic standard of the inhabitants.

(b) *Forestry*

Old Territories.

Serbia was formerly famous for its forests, and their extent remains large, although reduced by the encroachments of arable land and by the wars of the last century. The total area of the forests in the old territories is about 3,700,000 acres, of which 36 per cent. belong to the State, 43 per cent. to communes and villages, 1 per cent. to monasteries and churches, and 20 per cent. to private individuals. The administration of the State forests is under a special section of the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry. Sixty per cent. of the total area of the forests is covered with beech, which has a very wide distribution. Oak comes next in importance, covering 25 per cent. of the whole. Ten

per cent. is occupied by conifers, which abound in the regions of Uzhitse and Krushevats, and to a smaller extent in the department of Pirot. There is also much willow and osier, especially in the State forests.

The largest mass of forest lies in the departments of Kraina, Pozharevats, Timok, and Morava. There is another area, covering 50,000 acres, on the mountains around Valjevo. In the west there are extensive forests in the region of Uzhitse. The mountains west and south-west of Nish are also thickly wooded, oak being particularly abundant on the Toplitsa mountains, and there are considerable stretches of forest along the Bulgarian frontier.

Hitherto the Serbian forests have not yielded much profit to their owners. In 1908 the total value of the wood felled was only £42,000. They are, however, of great potential value; and, if they were properly surveyed, rendered accessible by new roads and railways, and systematically exploited, the export of forest products would expand rapidly, and the importation of timber, which has hitherto been large, would be very considerably reduced. Modern saw-mills are essential to the development of a Serbian timber industry; before the war there were only a few in the country, though small mills of a primitive type, worked by water-power, were numerous.

New Territories

The soil in the new territories is generally favourable to the growth of forest trees, and it is known that in the Middle Ages the region was rich in timber, which was not only used for smelting ore in the country, but was also exported, especially to Venice. Centuries of Turkish rule, however, largely destroyed the forests, which were never adequately protected against wasteful felling and the ravages of cattle and goats among young

trees. In consequence, although at the time of the Balkan Wars some five million acres of the new territories were officially regarded as forest land, about four-fifths of this area was bare, and most of the remainder was covered with young trees of between five and ten years' growth. On the higher slopes of the mountains these were in good condition, but at low altitudes they were devastated by cattle, for which they provided food in the autumn. Such full-grown trees as exist are seldom found in large masses, but are scattered over the country in small patches. Oak, beech, and pine are the commonest species.

It will consequently be some time before the forests in the new territories become commercially profitable. At present their most valuable product is charcoal, which is made by the peasants, principally from the dwarf oaks which abound on the mountains. In 1914, however, the Serbian Government was already taking steps to reclaim the land suitable for forests and to check the destruction of young trees.

(c) Land Tenure and Methods of Cultivation

Methods of cultivation depend so much on the terms on which the land is held that it is impossible to treat these subjects separately.

Old Territories.

The old kingdom of Serbia is a country of peasant proprietors. Before the European War, only 17 per cent. of the population lived in the towns, and there had been no depopulation of the country districts. Large estates were rare. In 1897 only 3·3 per cent. of the landowners possessed more than twenty hectares (about 50 acres), while 54 per cent. possessed less than five; and since then the number of small proprietors

has increased. The disadvantages attaching to small holdings have been largely obviated by the *zadruga*, or family community. This was formerly the social unit throughout the country. The members of each *zadruga* looked up to a common ancestor or to the eldest male of the family as their head, and cultivated their lands in common, sharing their live-stock and agricultural implements. The system made for security and for the use of better methods than would have been possible for independent individuals. Of late, however, there has been a tendency towards the dissolution of the bond of kinship, and, while the more intelligent and enterprising landowners may have benefited by the relaxation of the restrictions of the *zadruga*, the effects of the change have generally been unfortunate and have confronted the State with difficult economic problems. The increase of population, moreover, has necessitated the cultivation of land of indifferent quality. In consequence many of the peasants fell on evil times and became burdened with debt. The State intervened with laws exempting the homestead—the peasant's house, with a certain quantity of land and stock—from liability to seizure by creditors; but these measures have only partially remedied the evil, and indeed are often found to be a burden rather than a benefit.

Another measure of relief has been the institution of communal storehouses, stocked by contributions in kind from the peasants, which are distributed in case of dearth, those receiving help having to return an equivalent quantity of goods after the next harvest.

Co-operative societies have also rendered great service. In 1909 there were 900, mostly affiliated to the Central Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies, which had its head-quarters at Belgrade. Of these 615 were societies for obtaining credit, 205 were for

the purchase of manure, cattle, seed, and agricultural implements, 12 owned co-operative dairies, and the rest existed for the sale of their members' products or for benevolent objects. The State gives a subvention to their central funds.

It will be gathered that methods of cultivation have varied greatly from place to place. In the less fertile parts they have always been very crude, the primitive wooden plough, which does little more than scratch the soil, being in general use. Even in more favoured regions the owner of two or three acres of land, unless he belongs to a *zadruga* or a co-operative society, has had to do without modern appliances. On the other hand, productive areas like the Machva plain and the Morava and Timok valleys have of late seen a great increase in the use of agricultural machines and of animal manure. In such districts, moreover, the knowledge of the modern principles of agriculture has spread rapidly. A scientific rotation of crops, for instance, has been adopted by many cultivators.

The improvement of agricultural methods has been fostered by the State. It is over sixty years since the first school of agriculture was established, and in 1913 there were three of these schools in the old kingdom and one in Serbian Macedonia. Each gave instruction in all branches of agriculture, but devoted particular attention to those of special importance in its own district. Thus, Shabats and Skoplye specialized in the raising of crops, Bukovo in viticulture and fruit-growing, Kraljevo in cattle-breeding and cultivation in mountainous regions.

The State also established centres of scientific agriculture in seven of the seventeen departments into which the old kingdom was divided. They were intended to spread a knowledge of modern principles of agriculture and to provide farmers with the means of

scientific cultivation. Each centre had a farm, an orchard, a vineyard, and an apiary, and was supposed to possess an establishment for breeding silk-worms and a workshop for teaching trades and handicrafts relating to agriculture. At Topchider, close to Belgrade, there was a model farm, where experiments were made for the Ministry of Agriculture.

In 1898 a law instituted 'district nurseries', with the object of distributing fruit trees, vines, mulberry-trees, and other trees and shrubs of industrial value. At these nurseries instruction was given in bee-keeping, the rearing of silk-worms, and poultry-farming. There were 60 of them in 1912.

Mention has been made above of the establishments for promoting horse and cattle breeding.

The various institutions just described have done valuable work, but their methods have been somewhat empirical. Serbian agriculture still needs more systematic research and a more thorough application of scientific knowledge. An improvement was to be expected from the foundation of a Faculty of Agriculture at the University of Belgrade, which was decided upon in 1912. The wars have of course prevented the realization of this project.

Notwithstanding the concern of the State for agriculture, the position of the small proprietor is likely to remain precarious unless further measures are taken. Some relief might be given by the distribution of part of the State and communal lands. The domains of the State consisting largely of forest, it is the common lands of the villages that offer most scope to such a policy. They have hitherto been used mainly for pasture, and have thus been of most benefit to well-to-do landowners with large herds of cattle.

Better use should also be made of the *Uprava Fondova* or State Mortgage Bank. This is a big concern,

which lends money on landed security, but its methods and rules are such that the small cultivator has drawn little advantage from it. When in need of credit the peasant has generally gone to a private moneylender, often with ruinous results to himself.

Another need is a systematic registration and valuation of all the land in the country. This would facilitate the grant of credit and the more equitable distribution of the taxes, which in late years have pressed very heavily on small proprietors.

New Territories.

In the territories which fell to Serbia in 1913 the agrarian problem presents special difficulties. Before the Balkan Wars, while peasant proprietors were numerous, most of the land belonged to Mussulman *begs* and *agas*, whose large estates were usually cultivated by Christian peasants holding their farms on a precarious tenure of the *métayer* type. The leases, it is true, were generally renewed when they fell in, but the conditions of the contract between landlord and tenant seldom encouraged enterprise and energy. Moreover, owing to the exactions of corrupt officials and the ravages of brigands, the peasant, whatever his tenure, never enjoyed security of life and property.

After the revolution of 1908 a vigorous agitation for land reform arose. The peasants demanded the expropriation of the great landlords and the conversion of their own farms into free holdings, and sought, by evading their obligations in every possible way, to convince both the landlords and the Government that the existing system was unworkable. A very bitter feeling was excited, which during the Balkan Wars found a vent in deeds of violence against the landlords, whose misfortunes were shared by many of the Mussulman peasants. No small number of Turks and Albanians

fled the country, and after the war many of those who remained were eager to sell their property and depart. To increase the confusion numerous Slavs with Bulgarian sympathies also emigrated, while Serbs in districts allotted to Greece and Greeks in districts allotted to Serbia were often anxious to move to the territories of their compatriots.

It is not known how the Serbian Government proposed to deal with the difficult situation thus created. They appointed a commission to investigate the whole agrarian question in the new territories, but the European War soon interrupted its inquiries. It is said, however, that the Government hoped in the main to satisfy the demands of the peasants. In that case it will be necessary for the State to expropriate such of the big landlords as have retained their estates during the recent troubles.

The methods of cultivation followed in the new territories of Serbia were still more primitive than those employed in the old kingdom. Agricultural implements were crude, manure was seldom used, and there was general ignorance about the rotation of crops. In Macedonia, however, the peasants engaged in certain special branches of cultivation, such as tobacco, poppy, and fruit growing, often show remarkable skill, based on valuable traditional knowledge; and there is every reason to expect that, under a congenial and efficient Government, the inhabitants of the new provinces will be ready to adopt scientific methods in all departments of agriculture. If any real progress is to be made, however, greater facilities for obtaining credit must be provided. The Agricultural Bank of Serbia, which was established in the new territories in 1915, should be able to do much towards satisfying this need.

(3) FISHERIES

The fishing industry is controlled by the State. In the old territories it has hitherto been of small account, the methods in vogue being primitive and all the fish caught being consumed in the country. Many kinds, however, are found, especially in the Danube, and the industry might be profitably organized and expanded.

The numerous rivers and lakes of the newly-acquired provinces abound in fish of many valuable species. Lake Okhrida, in particular, contains excellent salmon-trout, which provide the inhabitants of the neighbourhood with one of their principal foods. The Turkish fishing-laws, however, effectually prevented any systematic development of the fisheries, and led to indiscriminate and wasteful poaching. Some of the fish caught in Serbian Macedonia used to be sent overseas through Salonika, but it is said that the methods employed in preserving them were unsatisfactory. That a prosperous fishing industry could be established is indicated by the attempt of a syndicate to obtain from the Serbian Government a ten years' lease of the fisheries of Lake Okhrida at an annual rent of £40,000—an offer which was not accepted. Serbian Macedonia offers an excellent opportunity for a fish-conserving factory conducted on modern lines, especially as such an enterprise would probably receive strong support from the Government.

(4) MINERALS

Old Territories.

(a) *Mineral Resources*

The mineral resources of Serbia were worked in Roman times and during the Middle Ages, but under Turkish rule they were neglected, and recent efforts to revive the industry have not borne much fruit. Some

parts of the old kingdom, however, are undoubtedly rich in minerals. The ancient workings, many of which can still be traced, frequently afford valuable clues to prospectors.

Nearly all the mineral deposits at present known lie in the northern half of the country. They are mostly found in three well-defined areas. These are, first, the Podrinje district in the north-west ; secondly, the elevated region stretching southwards from Belgrade to the Western Morava, and forming the watershed between the rivers Morava and Kolubara ; thirdly, a triangle of mountainous country in the north-east, bounded by the Danube, the Timok, and a line drawn from Pozharevats to the neighbourhood of Zayechar.

In the Podrinje district the chief mineral is lead, which in recent times has been worked at several places, mostly near Krupany. Copper, arsenic, antimony, and sulphur are also found, and at Zayaka near Loznitsa the Austrians are reported to have begun the working of antimony ore during the enemy occupation of Serbia.

In the second of the areas specified, lead is also the mineral most largely found. In modern times it has been mined near Ripany and, since the Austrian invasion, at Babe. Zinc and mercury ore have also been obtained in the Ripany district. Near Vlashko Polye, farther south, there is an important seam of lignite, which was worked to some extent before the war, and has been vigorously exploited by the Austrians. The Rudnik Mountains, towards the southern end of the area, are very rich in minerals, containing lead glance, zinc blende, and copper, iron, and arsenical pyrites, but little work seems to have been done here in modern times. On the outskirts of the area, chrome is found near Kralyevo and manganese ore near Kraguyevats.

The third area, that in the north-east, is by far the most valuable. It contains the mines of Maydanpek and Bor, which are the most productive in Serbia. The Maydanpek mines have been worked by modern methods for over sixty years. The principal product has been copper, which is smelted on the spot, but at first iron was also worked, and of late iron pyrites has been obtained in large quantities. The mines are leased to a Belgian company, but during the last year or two have been worked by the Austrians. At Bor, where a French company hold the concession, copper is mined. The output of ore, which was 7,000 tons in 1912, is reported to have been quadrupled by the Austrians, and it is claimed that the mine is one of the richest in the world. Other important mines lie near Kuchayna, where lead ores containing gold and silver are found. Near Dobra on the Danube are several coal-pits, and coal and lignite have been worked, though apparently not with much success, in other parts of the area. Gold in quartz veins occurs between Neresnitsa and Maydanpek, where it has been mined by two companies, and in the Deli Yovan mountains, where also concessions have been granted. Alluvial gold has been obtained in the valleys of the Pek and the Tsrna Reka, a tributary of the Timok. Among the other minerals of the area may be mentioned antimony and arsenic, which are known to exist near Zayechar.

Outside the three areas described, the mineral deposits that have been traced are not as a rule very promising. Among the exceptions are the lignite mines at Senye near Tyupriya in the Morava valley, which produced about 100,000 tons a year before the war. Since 1915 they have been under German management, and several new pits are reported to have been opened.

Building stone is abundant. Of special note are the

quarries at Topchider, close to Belgrade, in the Rudnik Mountains, and near Kraguyevats. Beautiful marble is quarried at various places in the Podrinje district.

Serbia has numerous mineral springs, some of which are of high therapeutic value, especially three or four with radio-active properties.

(b) Output

Considering the number of concessions granted in recent years, the mineral output of Serbia is small; but it must be remembered that the grant of a concession does not always mean the opening of a mine, and that many of the mines opened have been abandoned after a short time. In 1912 the number of workmen engaged in mining was only 4,622. Statistics of the output in that year are given below. The production of lead, one of the more abundant metals in Serbia, was remarkably small, owing in part to the closing down of the mines at Ripany through lack of capital.

| | <i>Quantity. Metric Tons.</i> | <i>Value. £</i> |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Antimony (regulus) | 297 | 7,092 |
| Coal, pit | 53,131 | 34,028 |
| „ lignite | 259,233 | 144,491 |
| Copper | 7,355 | 477,440 |
| Gold | 0.324 | 41,761 |
| Iron pyrites | 46,189 | 14,852 |
| Lead | 13 | 8,232 |
| Silver (metal) | 0.792 | 2,750 |
| Total value | | <u>730,646</u> |

New Territories.

(a) Mineral Resources

Of the new territories of Serbia, Serbian Macedonia and the country bordering thereon are unquestionably

rich in minerals, but since the Turkish conquest they have lain almost unworked. In future, however, mining will certainly be one of the most important industries of this region, and before long will probably offer attractive opportunities for the investment of foreign capital.

The mineral wealth of the newly-acquired provinces is widely distributed, but certain districts are known to be particularly rich. The chief of these are the country around Gilyan, between Skoplye and Prishtina. the neighbourhood of Trepatsa, on the Albanian frontier near Dibra, and the Plachkovitska and Osogovska Planina in the east of Serbian Macedonia. In all these areas there are numerous traces of mines worked in Roman or mediaeval times, and from these and historical records it is plain that the output was very large and comprised a great variety of minerals. The following notes indicate the principal deposits that were known to exist, whether in these districts or elsewhere, before the war.

Antimony.—Antimony ores were worked at the Allechar mines, near Rozhden, just north of the Greco-Serbian frontier. Antimony is also found near Krivolak, Skoplye, and Kratovo.

Arsenic.—Arsenical ores were also mined at Allechar, and arsen-pyrites occurs at Trepatsa.

Chrome.—Deposits of chrome are found in many parts, and a few years ago it was successfully mined at Rabrovo (near Strumitsa) and in the vicinity of Prizren. The mines, however, were abandoned, owing partly to a fall in prices and partly to the disturbed state of the country.

Coal.—Traces of coal are rare. There is said to be a valuable deposit in the upper basin of the Pchinya River, and lignite has been mined near Shtip. Other deposits seem to be of small account.

Copper.—Before the war copper ore was mined at

Dugi Hrid in Macedonia. Copper also occurs near Gevgeli and Gradsko, in the Plachkovitska Mountains, and in one or two other localities. Copper pyrites used to be mined at Trepatsa.

Gold.—In the Middle Ages gold was the principal product of the famous mine of Novo Brdo near Gilyan, and the adjacent mountain region is thought to be rich in this mineral, though little lies near the surface. Gold used also to be mined in the Plachkovitska.

Iron.—Iron occurs frequently and in various forms, but has not been much worked. The most important mines are at Chichovo near Gradsko, and iron has also been worked in recent times at Dugi Hrid. Iron ores are found near Veles, Kumanovo, and Egri Palanka, in the Osogovska Mountains, and at Novo Brdo. Iron pyrites was one of the chief products of the Trepatsa mines.

Lead.—Lead glance is plentiful in the Trepatsa district and in the Osogovska and Plachkovitska Planina, where it was at one time worked by the Turkish Government. Lead ore is also found near Veles and Kumanovo.

Magnesite.—At Majarlik near Skoplye there are wide veins of pure magnesite. A concession for these was granted, but little if any work seems to have been done.

Manganese.—Manganese seems not to have been mined at all in modern times, but important deposits are reported to exist near Gradsko, Veles, and Kumanovo. It also occurs in the Plachkovitska Mountains.

Marble.—Marble of good quality has been quarried in recent years near Gevgeli.

Silver.—Silver galenite is abundant in the Osogov Mountains, and silver used to be an important product of the Novo Brdo mine. Elsewhere, though occasionally found with lead, it is rare.

Slate.—There are slate quarries at Papadiya near Gradsko.

Sulphur.—Sulphur is found at many places in the Plavitsa region and there is an important deposit north of Lake Okhrida.

Among the places in Serbian Macedonia where mineral springs are found may be mentioned Slatina and Slansko, in the region between Prilip and Kirchevo, where there are springs with a high percentage of salt ; Veles, where there are thermal baths ; Tetovo, which has a chalybeate spring ; Shtip and Dibra, where sulphurous springs occur ; and Gevgeli, which has hot springs containing sulphur and arsenic.

(b) Output

There are no trustworthy statistics of the mineral output of the new territories of Serbia, but it is known to be very small. Allchar is the only place where large mining operations have been attempted in recent times. Since 1890 the mines there have been worked by Allatini Bros., a very important Salonika firm. At first their output consisted mainly of antimony ore, but subsequently the arsenical ores, orpiment and realgar, became their chief product. Lorandite and other earths, which contain the newly-discovered element thallium, have been found in the mines, which are also said to contain sulphur and gypsum, but it has not been possible to ascertain whether any minerals besides antimony and arsenic are worked.

(5) MANUFACTURES

Old Territories.

The Government has done its best to foster the country's manufactures. To promoters of new branches of industry it has been especially liberal, giving them

building land, allowing them to import plant and raw materials duty free, and reducing railway rates in favour of their goods, not to mention other valuable concessions.

Nevertheless, the manufactures of Serbia have hitherto been of little account. Most of the factories which figured in official returns were only small workshops, and very few had an annual production exceeding £50,000 in value. The raw material used consisted almost entirely of products of Serbian agriculture.

Food-stuffs.—Flour-mills were numerous, and many were worked by steam. Before the war their numbers were increasing, and the industry was considered to be one of great promise. In 1910 the capital invested in flour-mills was estimated at £625,000, and they produced about 200,000 tons of flour.

There were two sugar factories, one at Belgrade, the other at Tyupriya, which were capable of supplying the needs of the country.

Cheese is made according to Swiss methods, though the production of milk has hitherto been too small to allow of an extensive development of the industry. There was only one cheese factory, but in certain mountain districts there were associations whose members pastured their animals in common and made butter and cheese for export. The exports of cheese tended to increase, and were valued in 1910 at £23,000.

Brewing is a State monopoly. In 1908 there were nine breweries, the production of which was valued at £131,000. In 1913 the output was more than twice as large. The beer produced was sufficient for the home demand, which was not great.

Tobacco.—The tobacco factory at Belgrade, where leaf grown in the country was prepared, belonged to the Tobacco Monopoly, and its output exceeded in value that of any other industrial establishment in Serbia.

Textiles.—The textile industry was making progress, but up to 1914 it remained small. In the villages the women worked at flax, wool, and hemp, but domestic industry was decaying. It was hoped, however, that the manufacture of carpets at Pirot would be maintained. These carpets, which are woven on hand-loom by women and children, are of excellent quality, design, and colour, and have gained high awards at international exhibitions. The formation of a carpet-weavers' union enabled the individual workers to buy their materials cheaply, and the State forbade the use of aniline dyes, which were found to injure the qualities of the carpets; but the prospects of the industry were doubtful, as of late foreign competition was increasingly felt.

There were two small factories making cloth of various kinds, several works where braid and trimmings were manufactured, and a few cotton and linen mills, one of which, at Uzhitse, produced cotton and linen cloth of fine quality.

The manufacture of hempen goods should become very important. A large factory built at Vranyska Banya in 1903 became very prosperous. There was a similar factory at Leskovats. At Lapobo there was a silk-winding factory, the production of which was worth about £400,000 a year.

Leather.—Leather-making is a promising industry, as the country produces enormous supplies of raw material. Besides a number of small establishments, there were near Belgrade two factories making leather and gloves, the output of which amounted in 1909 to a value of £60,000.

Machinery and Metal Goods.—The metal-working industry was unimportant, owing to the small production of minerals in Serbia and the difficulty of obtaining skilled labour. Agricultural machines and

tools and other metal goods were manufactured at a factory in Belgrade, which had been granted valuable privileges by the State, but the value of its output in 1909 was only about £40,000.

Miscellaneous.—There were small tile-works at various places. At Belgrade there were two cardboard factories, a cigarette-paper factory, and two soap works. The last derived much of their raw material from the great slaughter-houses.

New Territories.

As might be expected, there has hitherto been little manufacture in the provinces annexed by Serbia in 1913. At the outbreak of the European War Skoplye had a steam flour-mill, a brewery, a braid factory, tanneries, two soap factories, a horseshoe factory, and a sugar factory established since the occupation of the town by the Serbians. It was also a centre of the production of silver filigree work—one of the chief domestic industries of Macedonia. Veles manufactured woollen and silk goods on a small scale, and had a vegetable oil factory worked by machinery, which produced 50,000 to 60,000 kilograms annually. At Shtip there was a similar factory. The oil was derived from sesame and poppy seed, and the industry should be capable of considerable development. Gevgeli had a silk-winding mill, with modern plant, which was perhaps the most successful industrial establishment in Serbian Macedonia. Monastir possessed a tannery and a ribbon factory, and had domestic industries of some note, such as the making of carpets, stockings, and articles ornamented with silver filigree work.

(6) POWER

Before the war electricity was little used in Serbia. Several towns had electric light, and electric power

was employed at one or two Government factories and by a few private firms and mining companies. In both the old and the new territories there is abundance of water-power, which, however, had scarcely been utilized, if at all.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

(a) *Principal Branches of Trade*

Up to 1914 the domestic trade of the old territories of Serbia was simple, consisting of little more than the exchange of agricultural products. The peasant's farm supplied most of the needs of himself and his family, even clothing being commonly made at home, though the demand for ready-made clothes was increasing. For the rest, sugar, coffee, and matches were the chief commodities purchased.

In the new territories the peasant used as a rule to sell his surplus crops to the agents of Salonika merchants, and to buy the few goods he was able to afford from small local dealers, whose stock was generally obtained from Salonika. Further particulars of this traffic are given under the head of Foreign Commerce.

(b) *Towns, Markets, and Fairs*

Belgrade, which in 1911 had a population of 90,890, is the only large town in the old territories. It had an important market, where *paprika* was the principal article of commerce. Much of the trade with Austria naturally passed through the city.

Few of the other towns were centres of much commercial activity. Nish, which stood second in point of size, with a population of 24,949, owed most of its importance to political and strategical considerations. Shabats, on the Save, which had 12,000 in-

habitants, was, however, a busy river port with a large weekly market for live stock, cheese, and grain, and at Krushevats (pop. 7,500) seven or eight markets were held annually for the sale of agricultural produce. Smederevo (pop. 7,000), on the right bank of the Danube, exported grain and live-stock, while Zayechar (pop. 8,000), on the Timok, had a considerable export trade in wool. Besides the markets mentioned above, many places had annual markets or fairs, but the volume of business done at these had declined considerably in late years, as the tariff war with Austria and consequent falling off in the export of live-stock reacted unfavourably on the home market.

In the new territories, the only notable trading centres were Skoplye, Monastir, and Prilip. Skoplye, which had nearly 47,000 inhabitants in 1912, was the receiving and distributing centre of a large area, stretching from Novibazar to Veles and from Prizren to Egri Palanka. Monastir (pop. 50,000) rendered a like office to the south-west of Serbian Macedonia. The commercial importance of Prilip (pop. 20,000) was derived from its large annual fair, which was attended by traders from regions as far distant as northern Albania. Many fairs and markets used to be held in Macedonia, but in recent times, owing in the main to the disturbed state of the country, most of them were abandoned. Their revival after the war would be a great stimulus to Macedonian trade.

(c) Organizations to Promote Trade and Commerce

There were, as was shown above, a number of institutions and societies which had as their object the improvement of agriculture, but there were few organizations for promoting trade in the strict sense of the word. Belgrade had a Chamber of Commerce, and there and at Nish there were trade associations, which

performed for the small merchants of those towns similar services to those rendered by the co-operative societies to agriculturists. None of these bodies, however, seems to have been of much influence.

(d) Foreign Interests and Methods of Economic Penetration

From the standpoint of modern finance, the amount of foreign capital invested in Serbia was small. Its influence, however, was considerable, for several of the larger industrial undertakings were under foreign control. Thus, at Belgrade the company which provided electric light and worked the tramways was controlled by Belgian interests, and of the two sugar factories, the one in the capital was a German enterprise, while that at Tyupriya was Austrian. Among smaller undertakings, the cement works at Popovats was wholly under German control, and half the capital of the leather factory of Gjurich & Barlovats at Belgrade was Austrian. The cloth and linen factories at Belgrade were worked by the Serbian Bank of Agram, which, however, was a foreign concern only in a technical sense.

Before the European War, the mines at Maydanpek belonged to a Belgian company, but it is stated that most of the shares had come into Austrian hands. The Bor copper mine was worked with French capital. Many other mining concessions had been granted to foreigners, but in most cases little work had been done.

British interests in Serbia are of small importance. The Serbian Mining and Dredging Syndicate, a company with British capital, has worked gold in the Maydanpek region. The Ripany Mines Ltd. was another British concern, but its capital was altogether inadequate.

It will be gathered that the economic penetration of Serbia, in the sense of attempts by foreigners to obtain control over the country's natural resources, has not made much progress, and the methods followed in the establishment of the industrial undertakings mentioned above call for no particular comment. If, however, the term economic penetration is taken to cover efforts to secure a dominating influence in commerce, it must be recognized that Serbia was very successfully penetrated by the Austrians and Germans. This aspect of the subject is treated below under the head of Foreign Commerce.

In the new territories of Serbia the Allchar mines were worked by the Salonika firm of Allatini Bros., but the foreign capital in the country was mainly invested in the railways. Of these the Salonika-Monastir line, which runs for only a short distance through Serbian territory, was originally under French control, but the company afterwards fell under German influence, owing to purchases of its shares by the Banque des Chemins de fer Orientaux. The railway from Salonika to Zibeveche, with the branch from Skoplye to Mitrovitsa, was worked by the Compagnie d'exploitation des Chemins de fer Orientaux, in which German and Austrian interests predominated. After the Balkan Wars, it was arranged that these railways were to be conducted as before, pending a decision of the Financial Commission at Paris regarding their future status. No pronouncement had been made when the European War broke out.

While the resources of Serbia's new provinces have been little exploited by foreigners, their trade has for long been controlled by the great merchants of Salonika, who are aliens from the Serbian point of view. Further details are given below.

(2) FOREIGN

Old Territories.

As the old kingdom of Serbia nowhere touches the sea, its foreign trade has been entirely dependent on the goodwill of neighbouring States. Until recently it was at the mercy of Austria, for 90 per cent. of Serbia's exports and 60 per cent. of her imports crossed the Austrian frontier. The persistent attempts of the Dual Monarchy to turn this situation to its political advantage led to the tariff war of 1906-10, which, while causing some loss to Serbian stock-breeders, ultimately inflicted more injury on Austria. Driven by necessity, the Serbians found new markets in Turkey, Italy, and western Europe; and after the end of the tariff war, notwithstanding a new commercial treaty between the parties, it was evident that Austria's control over Serbian trade had been greatly weakened.

Of particular moment was the success of Serbia in securing an outlet for her goods down the Vardar valley and through Salonika. The Turkish Government granted valuable privileges to merchandise passing through that port in transit to or from Serbia, whose exports of cattle and cereals through Macedonia at once increased. It is true that, owing to a conjunction of unfortunate circumstances, this trade soon began to fall off; but this was in no way the fault of the Serbian authorities, who were fully alive to the value of the concessions they had obtained. The subsequent acquisition by Serbia of part of Macedonia made access to Salonika more vital to her than ever; and after the Treaty of Bucharest she lost no time in concluding with Greece an agreement still more favourable than the one with Turkey. Even if Serbia obtained a port on the Adriatic, a great part of her foreign trade would still pass along the Vardar valley; and her future will in any

event be greatly affected by the nature of the facilities granted to her goods at Salonika. The subject is treated in greater detail in *Macedonia*, No. 21 of this series.

(a) *Exports*

Quantities and Values.—The quantities and value of the principal articles exported from Serbia in certain recent years are shown in Table I of Appendix II. The years have been chosen with a view to illustrating the nature of the export trade immediately before, during, and immediately after, the tariff war with Austria. Serbia's exports, of course, consisted almost entirely of agricultural products, which, including prepared foods and drinks, were exported in 1911 to a value of £4,151,000, while the total value of the exports was only £4,677,000. The quantity and nature of the cereals exported varied much from year to year, and, with regard to animal products, it will be seen that, while the export of live cattle and pigs fell off at the beginning of the tariff war and never wholly recovered, the export of meat increased suddenly and remarkably at the end of the period under review. The following details regarding the export trade in live stock and meat in 1911 are of interest :

| | Quantity. Head. | Value. £ |
|--|--------------------|-------------|
| Horses | 3,967 | 23,430 |
| Horned cattle | 17,788 | 193,530 |
| Sheep | 61,998 | 35,210 |
| Pigs | 7,701 | 23,120 |
| <i>Metric Tons.</i> | | |
| Poultry (live) | 4,108 | 140,010 |
| „ (dead) | 582 | 28,760 |
| Meat, fresh and salted | 15,321 | 628,240 |
| Lard | 487 | 21,610 |
| Ham and sausage-meat | 332 | 28,510 |
| Animal fats not included above | 1,288 | 66,300 |

Besides agricultural products, only minerals were exported in any quantity, and in 1911 the total value of the mineral exports was little more than £400,000, nine-tenths of which was accounted for by copper.

The total value of the exports in the years from 1905 to 1912 was as follows :

| | £ |
|----------------|-----------|
| 1905 | 2,880,000 |
| 1906 | 2,864,000 |
| 1907 | 3,260,000 |
| 1908 | 3,110,000 |
| 1909 | 3,719,000 |
| 1910 | 3,936,000 |
| 1911 | 4,677,000 |
| 1912 | 3,369,000 |

Countries of Destination.—The principal purchasers of Serbia's exports are shown in Table II. Points to be particularly noticed are the adverse effect of the tariff war on trade with Austria, the evidence afforded by the figures of Serbia's success in obtaining new markets during this conflict, the striking growth of the exports to Germany, and the insignificance of the purchases of Great Britain. It should be remarked that Austria is not quite so valuable a customer of Serbia as these statistics would suggest, as many of the goods taken by her are destined for re-export to other countries.

(b) Imports

Quantities and Values.—At the head of the imports in value stood textile goods, which (including ready-made clothes) accounted in 1911 for £1,320,000 out of a total of £4,617,000. Other notable imports were machinery and metal goods, while the principal food-stuffs which entered the country were salt, coffee, sugar, and rice. The importation of sugar was declining,

owing partly to its increasing cultivation in the country, but the process was accelerated by the economic war with Austria, the main source of supply.

The total value of the imports in each of the years 1905-12 is shown below. It is remarkable that the effect of the tariff war is much more evident than in the case of the exports.

| | £ |
|----------------|-----------|
| 1905 | 2,224,000 |
| 1906 | 1,773,000 |
| 1907 | 2,823,000 |
| 1908 | 3,025,000 |
| 1909 | 2,941,000 |
| 1910 | 3,388,000 |
| 1911 | 4,617,000 |
| 1912 | 4,244,000 |

Countries of Origin.—Table IV illustrates very clearly the most striking feature of Serbia's import trade in the seven or eight years preceding the Balkan Wars—namely the great increase, both absolute and relative, in the amount supplied by Germany. It is true that the success of the German trader was partly due to the tariff war, which gave him an excellent opportunity of supplanting his Austrian rival; and it is to be noted that on the return of economic peace, Austria, while not recovering her former commanding ascendancy, again became the chief contributor of Serbia's imports. But, as elsewhere in the Near East, Germany's commercial progress was mainly the result of the care and skill with which her manufacturers and exporters adapted their goods to the taste and pockets of their customers. In Serbia the effect of this was particularly evident in the textile trade, which was formerly almost a monopoly of Austria, but by 1912 had been largely captured by Germany.

If the Germans and Austrians are not to regain their commercial predominance in Serbia, their rivals will

have to pay great attention to the question of credit. The easy terms granted by German and Austrian traders to the purchasers of their goods were one of the principal causes of their success. Their policy was only made possible by a careful study of local conditions and by searching inquiries regarding the status of their customers.

The imports from Austria belonged to almost every category in the Serbian returns. Besides textiles, Germany supplied most of the hardware—a branch of the trade in which she had long held the lead. The United Kingdom stood a bad third among the countries exporting to Serbia, her contribution consisting mostly of textile goods of the more expensive qualities, which were of course quite beyond the purse of the Serbian peasant.

(c) Customs and Tariffs

The most recent customs tariff of Serbia, which was drawn up in 1907, is very elaborate, and a satisfactory idea of its character can only be formed by examining it in detail. Almost all the duties are levied on weight, not value, and the dutiable goods are classified with great minuteness, each class, and frequently each division of a class, having its appropriate rate. The export duties, which affect only lamb and kid skins and various waste products, call for no special remark. There seems to be no common purpose underlying the import duties. Some, such as the charges on sugar and cereals, are apparently protective in both intention and effect. Others, like the elaborately graded imposts on textile goods, may have been designed to protect home industries, but in practice have proved valuable sources of revenue; while the high duties on coffee and articles of luxury must have been intended merely to benefit the treasury.

Apart from food-stuffs, raw materials are in general admitted free, copper being a conspicuous exception, and the duties on machinery are mostly low. The general tariff, moreover, has been modified in favour of various foreign countries with which Serbia has concluded commercial treaties. For instance, several kinds of British machinery are admitted free; but such complete exemption is very rare. Tobacco, salt, and one or two other articles are Government monopolies.

In addition to the charges of the general tariff, a few food-stuffs, various kinds of fuel, and certain materials for lighting and building are subject to a special tax called *trosharina*. This is levied for purely fiscal purposes, as it is imposed not merely on imports, but also, as an excise duty, on native products. The principal articles on which *trosharina* is paid are refined sugar, coffee, rice, edible oil, beer, fine wines, liqueurs, boards and planks, girders and beams, window and plate glass, and cement.

(d) *Commercial Treaties*

Up to the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 Serbia's commercial policy was determined by the Ottoman Government. During the early years of her independence, she narrowly escaped falling into economic subjection to Austria, who, though foiled in an attempt to form a Customs Union between the two States, succeeded in preventing her from concluding commercial agreements with other countries and forced her to accept a treaty under which her trade became virtually an Austrian monopoly. In 1893, however, Austria's influence was shaken by Great Britain and Germany, with whom Serbia made treaties providing for mutual most-favoured-nation treatment; and the Vienna

Government had to consent to the raising of the duties on Austrian goods entering Serbia. In 1901 Serbia signed conventions with Russia, whereby the railway and steamship rates for goods going from one country to the other were much reduced, and in 1904, by a second treaty between Serbia and Germany, preferential treatment was granted by each State to certain products of the other. Continuing her independent policy, Serbia in the following year not only concluded with Montenegro an agreement arranging for reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment, but also entered into a Customs Union with Bulgaria. Thereupon Austria, resolved to recover her waning authority in the Balkans, denounced her treaty with Serbia, and closed her frontiers to Serbian live-stock. The tariff war of 1906-10 followed.

Serbia was compelled to seek new outlets for her exports. She entered into advantageous agreements with certain steamship companies, negotiated reductions of freight in favour of her goods on the railways of Bulgaria and Turkey, and concluded a number of commercial treaties, of which those with Russia, Italy, Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom deserve particular mention.

The treaty with Russia arranged for the grant of special facilities to the goods of the two parties on the Danube and on the railways of each. It was to hold good for ten years or until denounced.

The treaty with Italy did not reduce the Italian tariff in favour of Serbia, but 'conventionalized' the duties in respect of certain Serbian goods, such as cattle, pigs, and cereals. In return a number of Italian imports into Serbia received preferential treatment. The duration of the treaty was to be ten years, unless it were previously denounced.

The treaty with Belgium 'conventionalized' in respect of Serbian goods the Belgian duties then in force, and specified the maximum duties to be levied on Belgian goods entering Serbia. These were in some cases lower than the charges prescribed in the general tariff. Duration: ten years or until denounced.

France was granted tariff reductions in respect of certain goods of French origin, especially wines and medicines.

The treaty with the United Kingdom, the duration of which was fixed at ten years, laid down that each party was to accord most-favoured-nation treatment to the other, and fixed the maximum duties payable by British imports into Serbia. The effect was that certain British goods, notably cotton yarns and machinery, obtained preferential treatment.

All these treaties were signed in 1907. Three years later, Serbia and Portugal, by a treaty to last for ten years, unless previously denounced, accorded to each other most-favoured-nation treatment.

Of more importance, perhaps, than any of the agreements mentioned was the arrangement made with Turkey regarding the Serbian transit trade through Salonika. Serbian exports and imports were to pass through the port free of duty; and, in order to facilitate the trade in cattle, the Serbian Government was allowed to rent part of the harbour and an adjacent piece of land. In return for these privileges and the concessions granted her on the Turkish railways, Serbia reduced her customs tariff in favour of certain Turkish goods.

Serbia's enterprising policy, though it brought her substantial advantages, did not yield all the results that had been expected, and in 1910 she found it advisable to come to a settlement with Austria. In

the consequent treaty, she granted to Austrian goods easier terms than those for which she had stood out in previous negotiations, and while the Austrian frontier was again opened to Serbian live-stock, it was stipulated that not more than 15,000 cattle and 35,000 pigs were to be exported to Austria annually, and that the trade must be confined to eight specified frontier-stations. Serbian stock-raisers seem to have been satisfied with the treaty, but it was regarded as unfavourable to Serbian trade as a whole. It was still in force in 1914.

After the Balkan Wars a treaty between Serbia and Greece confirmed and enlarged the privileges enjoyed by Serbian goods at Salonika, and there was apparently some discussion between the Governments regarding the grant of still further concessions and the extension of the Serbian property at the port. This question will have to be considered again in the near future.

New Territories.

The foreign commerce of the newly-acquired provinces was almost wholly dependent on Salonika. It was not merely that the bulk of the exports and imports passed through the port, but the trade itself was controlled by Salonika merchants, to whom the surplus produce of the region was sold and from whom the stock-in-trade of the local retailers was bought. For any merchant in Serbia's new territories to sell goods direct to a foreign firm was most exceptional, and though a few houses at Skoplye and Monastir bought textiles, hardware, and sugar from abroad without the intervention of any intermediary, such purchases were of but small account in comparison with the total volume of imports.

There were several reasons for the dependence of the up-country dealer on the great merchants of Salonika. In the first place, he was generally an ill-educated man, quite unfitted to bargain by letter with powerful foreign firms. Moreover, he seldom had large quantities of goods for export; and, as in most cases his business consisted of a general store, he rarely wished to purchase any commodity in great bulk, but wanted small supplies of many different articles. He consequently saved himself much correspondence, much trouble with railway companies and customs officials, and probably much expense, by dealing only with one or two Salonika houses, which would generally have agents in his neighbourhood and which up to 1912 were separated from him by no customs barrier. More important, however, than any of these considerations was the credit granted by the Salonika merchants, who, kept informed by their agents of the position and prospects of their clients, were accustomed to allow them very liberal terms, such as even German and Austrian firms could not venture to concede.

The period of peace after the Balkan Wars was too short to reveal the effect of the partition of Macedonia on the system just described. It is known that the Austrian consular authorities at Skoplye hoped that the new arrangements would weaken the commercial connexion between northern Macedonia and Salonika, to the advantage of Austrian trade; but up to the outbreak of the European War there was no sign that their expectations were likely to be fulfilled. No light is thrown on the question by the available statistics. For the period before 1912 there are in fact no figures referring exactly to the territories afterwards acquired by Serbia; and, though the Serbian Government published statistics of the foreign trade of this region for

1914, it could not show the origin or ultimate destination of many of the commodities in its list, still less what proportion of them passed through the hands of Salonika firms. Apart from this drawback, the value of the figures, which are given in Table V of the Appendix, is much discounted by the fact that the European War broke out soon after the middle of the year to which they refer.

The chief sources of the imports of Macedonia as a whole in the period immediately preceding the Balkan Wars are shown in the volume on that region. Except that the districts afterwards allotted to Serbia probably imported rather more goods by rail than the rest of the country, their import trade presented no peculiar features; and the principal foreign States contributed to it in much the same proportions as to the import trade of Macedonia at large.

(D) FINANCE

(1) PUBLIC FINANCE

The revenue and expenditure for the year 1914 were estimated as follows :

| | <i>Revenue</i> | £ |
|----------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Direct taxes | | 2,293,880 |
| Customs | | 600,440 |
| Tax on provisions | | 1,020,840 |
| Justice and stamp tax | | 424,280 |
| State monopoly revenue | | 2,149,720 |
| Domains | | 159,920 |
| Posts and telegraphs | | 252,880 |
| State railways | | 1,013,200 |
| Various revenues | | 384,240 |
| Extraordinary revenue | | 273,480 |
| Total | | <u>8,572,880</u> |

Expenditure

| | £ |
|---|------------------|
| Civil List | 55,200 |
| Redemption and interest of State debt | 1,839,000 |
| Parliament | 34,920 |
| Pensions | 396,720 |
| Minister of Justice | 162,120 |
| Minister of Education and Religion | 580,160 |
| Minister for Foreign Affairs | 103,320 |
| Minister for Home Affairs | 306,320 |
| Minister of Finance | 1,030,720 |
| Minister of War | 2,172,820 |
| Minister of Public Works | 1,388,400 |
| Minister of Agriculture | 305,520 |
| Various expenses | 94,800 |
| Total | <u>8,470,020</u> |

This budget is for the old and new territories together. The budgets of the previous years apply only to the territory possessed by Serbia before the Balkan Wars. They are as follows :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Revenue.</i> | <i>Expenditure.</i> |
|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| | £ | £ |
| 1909 | 4,205,222 | 4,153,254 |
| 1910 | 4,663,245 | 4,474,461 |
| 1911 | 4,805,458 | 4,803,262 |
| 1912 | 5,118,000 | 4,708,240 |
| 1913 | 5,230,600 | 5,230,600 |

The Serbian Public Debt, contracted under seven loans at rates ranging from 2 to 5 per cent., amounted on January 1, 1915, to £35,900,000 ; the debt charge was £1,840,000.

In 1896 an independent monopoly administration was established by the State ; under it the monopoly of certain articles is controlled, viz. tobacco, salt, petroleum, matches, cigarette-paper, alcohol, spirits, and beer.

The gross receipts from these monopolies for the years 1906–8 are given below :

| | <i>Tobacco.</i> | <i>Salt.</i> | <i>Petroleum.</i> | <i>Matches.</i> | <i>Cigarette paper.</i> |
|--------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 1906 . | 627,151 | 201,675 | 136,342 | 32,367 | 50,160 |
| 1907 . | 643,764 | 209,455 | 140,554 | 34,528 | 50,970 |
| 1908 . | 672,068 | 197,891 | 146,523 | 34,828 | 52,393 |

| | <i>Beer and beer stamps</i> | | | | | £ |
|--------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---------|
| 1907 . | . | . | . | . | . | 249,283 |
| 1908 . | . | . | . | . | . | 257,003 |

The net receipts considerably exceeded the amount required for the Sinking Fund and interest on the Public Debt. Appended are the figures for three recent years :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Net Receipts.</i> | <i>Set apart for Sinking Fund.</i> | <i>Surplus paid to State Revenue.</i> |
|--------------|--------------------------|--|---|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| 1912 . | 1,770,100 | 1,308,279 | 461,821 |
| 1913 . | 2,160,000 | 1,312,000 | 848,000 |
| 1914 . | 2,680,000 | 1,839,000 | 841,000 |

(2) CURRENCY

Since 1875 Serbia has employed the decimal system. The Serbian dinar is the equivalent of the franc. Gold coins of the value of 20 dinars (milan d'or) and 10 dinars are in circulation; there are silver coins of 5, 2, 1, and 0·5 dinar. The dinar is subdivided into 100 paras; there are bronze coins of 10 and 5 paras, and nickel coins of 20, 10, and 5 paras. Very little gold is in circulation; the actual currency is mainly silver and bank-notes of the National Bank of Serbia.

The old Turkish names of the coins and methods of reckoning are still in use, especially in the country.

(3) BANKING

In 1914 the principal banks in Serbia were the following :

Uprava Fondova (Crédit foncier du royaume de Serbie).—This is the State Bank of Serbia, founded in 1862 and reorganized in 1898. It manages public funds, both national and local, makes advances to public authorities or negotiates loans in their behalf, and lends money on mortgage to agriculturists. All its engagements are guaranteed by the State. In 1913 its capital was £8,000,000.

The National Bank of Serbia (Banque Nationale privilégiée de Serbie).—Founded in 1883. Its nominal capital is £800,000, of which half has been paid up. At the end of 1913 it had in circulation notes to the value of £4,127,000. Its main object is to stimulate trade by granting cheap credit.

Export Bank (Banque d'Exportation).—Founded in 1901 for the promotion of foreign trade. It advances money on national produce destined for export. It had branches at several places outside Serbia, including Budapest, Vienna, and Berlin.

Banque Franco-Serbe.—This bank, which has its official head-quarters at Paris, was founded by the Imperial Ottoman Bank and several French banking companies. Its business is directed by its Belgrade house. It has branches at Skoplye and Monastir. Its capital is £480,000, its reserve £27,400.

Privredna Banka (Banque Générale du Commerce et de l'Industrie).—Established in 1907. The principal business of this bank is the financing of industrial and commercial undertakings. Capital: £120,000; reserve, £10,000.

Prometna Banka.—This bank does general banking business. Capital, £120,000; reserve, £48,000.

Banque du pays Serbe.—Established in 1906. Capital, £80,000 ; reserve, £2,400.

Banque de Crédit Serbe.—Established in 1883. It specializes in foreign business. Capital, £48,000 ; reserve, £8,000.

Andrejevits & Co., Soc. Anon.—An important Belgrade banking firm, with a capital of £160,000, and several agencies in the country.

Of the foreign banks with branches or agencies in Serbia the most important was the Ungarische Bank und Handels-Aktiengesellschaft, whose head-quarters are at Budapest.

Besides the banks mentioned, several others, native and foreign, have offices at Belgrade, and in most of the smaller towns, even where branches of important concerns have been established, there are a number of small banking firms and credit societies whose business is confined to the immediate neighbourhood.

In the new provinces, little banking has been done. The Banque de Salonique, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, and the Banque Franco-Serbe each had branches at Skoplye and Monastir, but the business of the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Macedonia was being wound up in 1914. Particulars of the important Banque de Salonique, in which Austrian influence was strong, are given in *Macedonia*, No. 21 of this series. In 1915 the Agricultural Bank of Serbia was established with a view to promoting agriculture in the new territories.

APPENDIX I

CONCORDATO STIPULATO FRA LA S. SEDE ED
IL GOVERNO DI SERBIA

[JUNE 24, 1914]

In nome della Santissima Trinità

Sua Santità il Sommo Pontefice Pio X e Sua Maestà Pietro I Re di Serbia, allo scopo di tutelare gli interessi religiosi dei Cattolici nel Regno di Serbia, hanno risoluto di fare un Concordato, nominando a tale effetto due Plenipotenziari, cioè :

per parte di Sua Santità: l'E^{mo} e Rev^{mo} signor Cardinale Merry del Val, Suo Segretario di Stato ; e per parte di Sua Maestà : Sua Eccellenza il Signor Milenko R. Vesnitch, Inviato Straordinario e Ministro Plenipotenziario di Sua Maestà il Re di Serbia in Francia e nel Belgio, Gran Croce dell'Ordine di San Sava, dottore in legge, ecc. ;

i quali scambiati i loro rispettivi Pieni Poteri e trovati in buona e dovuta forma, convennero negli articoli seguenti :

ART. 1

La religione cattolica apostolica romana avrà il suo libero e pubblico esercizio nel Regno di Serbia.

ART. 2

Si costituisce nel Regno di Serbia una Provincia Ecclesiastica, composta dell'archidiocesi di Belgrado, con sede nella capitale del Regno—avente come territorio quello compreso nei confini della Serbia prima dei trattati di Londra e di Bukarest dell'anno 1913—e della diocesi di Scopia, suffraganea, con sede in detta città, passando dalla giurisdizione di Propaganda Fide al diritto comune.

ART. 3

L'Arcivescovo di Belgrado e il Vescovo di Scopia, alla cui giurisdizione ecclesiastica appartengono tutti i Cattolici del Regno di Serbia, dipenderanno negli affari ecclesiastici direttamente ed esclusivamente dalla Santa Sede.

ART. 4

Sua Santità, prima di nominare definitivamente l'Arcivescovo di Belgrado e il Vescovo di Scopia, notificherà al Regio Governo la persona del rispettivo candidato, per conoscere se vi sieno fatti o ragioni di ordine politico o civile in contrario.

ART. 5

L'Arcivescovo di Belgrado e il Vescovo di Scopia riceveranno dal Regio Governo un emolumento annuo, il primo di dinari 12,000, con un' aggiunta di 4,000 dinari, ed il secondo di dinari 10,000, con diritto a pensione non inferiore a quella degli impiegati dello Stato.

ART. 6

Il titolo ufficiale dell'Arcivescovo di Belgrado e del Vescovo di Scopia sarà di Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Monsignore.

ART. 7

Prima di entrare in funzione l'Arcivescovo di Belgrado ed il Vescovo di Scopia presteranno, alla presenza di un delegato del Regio Governo, il giuramento di fedeltà nella formola seguente: 'Io giuro e prometto dinanzi a Dio e sopra i Santi Evangelii obbedienza e fedeltà a Sua Maestà il Re di Serbia; prometto di non partecipare ad accordo qualsiasi, nè di assistere ad alcun consiglio, nè d'incoraggiare o lasciar cooperare il Clero a me subordinato a qualsivoglia impresa che tenda a turbare la pubblica tranquillità dello Stato.'

ART. 8

L'Arcivescovo di Belgrado e il Vescovo di Scopia avranno piena libertà nell'esercizio delle funzioni ecclesiastiche e nel regime delle loro diocesi, e potranno esercitare tutti i diritti e le prerogative del loro pastorale ministero, secondo la disciplina approvata dalla Chiesa. Da loro, nelle rispettive diocesi, dipendono tutti i membri del clero cattolico, in ciò che riguarda l'esercizio del sacro ministero.

ART. 9

All'Arcivescovo di Belgrado ed al Vescovo di Scopia, spetta, nella rispettiva diocesi, l'erezione delle parrocchie, d'intelligenza col Regio Governo. Ad essi spetta pure la nomina dei parroci. Se però trattasi di persone estranee al Regno, procederanno d'intelligenza col Governo Serbo; se poi trattasi di sudditi;

serbi, i Vescovi s' informeranno in precedenza presso il competente Ministero per conoscere se vi siano ragioni o fatti d'ordine politico o civile in contrario.

ART. 10

L'istruzione religiosa della gioventù cattolica è sottoposta in tutte le scuole all' Arcivescovo ed al Vescovo nelle rispettive diocesi. Nelle scuole dello Stato essa verrà impartita da catechisti che, previo commune accordo, saranno nominati dal Vescovo e dal Ministro dell' Istruzione Pubblica e dei Culti. I Vescovi possono interdire l' insegnamento religioso, anche nelle scuole dello Stato, a quei catechisti che si mostrassero non adatti alla missione loro affidata dandone partecipazione al Ministero dell' Istruzione Pubblica e dei Culti, per procedere ad altra nomina. Il Regio Governo stipendierà i catechisti nelle scuole dello Stato. La qualità di parroco non è incompatibile con quella di catechista.

ART. 11

Per la formazione di giovani serbi idonei al sacerdozio cattolico sarà istituito un seminario nella capitale o nelle sue vicinanze, cui lo Stato fornirà un' equa annua dotazione, restando all' autorità ecclesiastica rispettiva la cura di sistemarlo e governarlo in conformità delle disposizioni canoniche. In questo seminario sarà usata per le discipline non ecclesiastiche la lingua d' insegnamento serba.

ART. 12

Il Regio Governo riconosce la validità dei matrimoni fra Cattolici e dei matrimoni misti, contratti alla presenza del parroco cattolico secondo le leggi della Chiesa.

ART. 13

Le cause matrimoniali fra cattolici, e fra coniugi di matrimoni misti, celebrati dinanzi al parroco cattolico, eccetto in ciò che riguarda gli effetti, meramente civili, saranno giudicate dai tribunali ecclesiastici cattolici.

ART. 14

Il coniuge cattolico avrà diritto di stabilire che la prole dei matrimoni misti, celebrati dinanzi al parroco cattolico, venga educata nella religione cattolica.

ART. 15

La formola di preghiera Pel Sovrano : ‘ Domine, salvum fac Regem ’, sarà cantata negli uffici divini in lingua slava o latina, a seconda delle condizioni locali.

ART. 16

Lo Stato riconosce che la Chiesa, rappresentata dalle legittime sue autorità e dai suoi ordini gerarchici, ha vera e propria personalità giuridica e capacità di esercitare i diritti che le appartengono.

ART. 17

La Chiesa ha diritto di acquistare per giusto titolo, di possedere e liberamente amministrare beni sì mobili che immobili destinati pei fini propri della Chiesa e delle sue istituzioni nel Regno, e le cose da lei acquistate e le sue fondazioni sono inviolabili come i beni propri dei cittadini dello Stato.

ART. 18

Le proprietà della Chiesa potranno essere assoggettate ai pubblici tributi, come i beni degli altri cittadini, eccettuati tuttavia gli edifici destinati al culto divino, i seminari e le case dei Vescovi e dei parroci, i quali saranno immuni da tasse e non potranno mai essere destinati od adibiti ad altro uso.

ART. 19

I sacerdoti ed i chierici, secolari e regolari, non potranno essere obbligati ad esercitare pubblici uffici che fossero contrari al sacro loro ministero ed alla vita clericale.

ART. 20

Se in avvenire sorgesse qualche difficoltà sulla interpretazione dei precedenti articoli o su questioni per avventura dagli stessi non contemplate, la Santa Sede e il Regio Governo procederanno, di comune intelligenza, ad un’ amichevole soluzione, in armonia col diritto canonico.

ART. 21

La presente convenzione entrerà in vigore immediatamente dopo la ratifica di Sua Santità il Sommo Pontefice e di Sua Maestà il Re di Serbia.

ART. 22

Lo Scambio delle ratifiche avrà luogo in Roma nel più breve tempo possibile.

RAFFAELE Card. MERRY DEL VAL.

ROMA, 24 giugno 1914.

MIL. R. VESNITCH.

AGGIUNTA AL CONCORDATO

Dal Vaticano, 24 giugno 1914.

Il sottoscritto Cardinale Segretario di Stato, a complemento del Concordato e come parte integrante di esso, ha l' onore di significare a Sua Eccellenza il signor Dottor Milenko Vesnitch, Inviato Straordinario e Ministro Plenipotenziario di Serbia, quanto segue :

Il Santo Padre consente che i Cattolici di rito latino del Regno di Serbia, in quelle parrocchie che (in base alla lingua parlata dai rispettivi parrocchiani) verranno nominatamente designate dalla Santa Sede, possano servirsi della lingua paleoslavica nella sacra liturgia e che in essa possano usare i caratteri glagolitici.

Inoltre Sua Santità estende alle suddette parrocchie il decreto della S. Congregazione dei Riti del 18 dicembre 1906, n. 4196, in quanto con esso viene regolato l'uso del Rituale Romano (nei battesimi, matrimoni, funerali, ecc.) e il canto o la recita delle preci, dell' Epistola e del Vangelo in lingua slava.

Il Rituale, l' Evangelistario e le preci, di cui è parola nel precedente capoverso, possono essere stampati coi caratteri civili attualmente in uso in Serbia.

Il sottoscritto Cardinale profitta ben volentieri di questa occasione per rinnovare al prelodato signor Ministro i sentimenti dell' alta sua considerazione.

RAFFAELE Card. MERRY DEL VAL.

Le ratifiche del Concordato vennero scambiate in Roma il 20 marzo 1915.

APPENDIX II

TABLE I.—QUANTITIES AND VALUE OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF DOMESTIC PRODUCE EXPORTED FROM SERBIA

| | 1905 | | | 1907 | | | 1909 | | | 1911 | | |
|---|----------------------|-------------|--|----------------------|-------------|--|----------------------|-------------|--|----------------------|-------------|--|
| | Quantity. Number. | Value. £ | | Quantity. Number. | Value. £ | | Quantity. Number. | Value. £ | | Quantity. Number. | Value. £ | |
| Horned cattle . . . | 71,789 | 415,520 | | 13,248 | 81,360 | | 35,309 | 256,400 | | 17,788 | 193,530 | |
| Pigs . . . | 122,202 | 585,400 | | 14,825 | 64,160 | | 20,262 | 45,040 | | 7,701 | 23,120 | |
| Poultry, live . . . | 1,804,809 | 57,760 | | Metric Tons | | | Metric Tons | | | Metric Tons | | |
| | | | | 167 | 5,680 | | 436 | 17,040 | | 4,108 | 140,010 | |
| Meat, fresh and salted . | 3,615 | 115,080 | | 4,399 | 152,120 | | 3,543 | 130,480 | | 15,321 | 628,240 | |
| Hides and skins . . . | 1,860 | 141,320 | | 1,129 | 115,680 | | 1,607 | 128,720 | | 1,649 | 148,840 | |
| Wheat . . . | 93,147 | 519,960 | | 54,227 | 412,120 | | 144,139 | 1,167,200 | | 91,615 | 635,520 | |
| Barley . . . | 17,589 | 73,880 | | 31,026 | 161,640 | | 61,250 | 300,040 | | 19,584 | 119,320 | |
| Maize . . . | 20,476 | 77,360 | | 102,783 | 472,800 | | 95,155 | 505,880 | | 117,491 | 578,160 | |
| Fruit, fresh . . . | — | 81,520 | | — | 99,720 | | — | 85,440 | | — | 82,640 | |
| Prunes . . . | 54,076 | 483,320 | | 42,648 | 629,760 | | 9,491 | 87,800 | | 33,267 | 659,760 | |
| Total value of principal and other exports . . . | | 2,880,000 | | | 3,260,000 | | | 3,719,000 | | | 4,677,000 | |

TABLE II.—PRINCIPAL DESTINATIONS OF SERBIAN EXPORTS

| | 1905 | | 1907 | | 1909 | | 1911 | |
|---------------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|------------------|
| | £ | Per- centage. | £ | Per- centage. | £ | Per- centage. | £ | Per- centage. |
| Austria-Hungary | 2,588,500 | 89·9 | 517,300 | 15·9 | 1,163,900 | 31·3 | 1,937,300 | 41·4 |
| Belgium | 12,900 | 0·4 | 520,400 | 16 | 396,000 | 10·6 | 245,700 | 5·3 |
| Bulgaria | 48,800 | 1·7 | 79,800 | 2·4 | 145,300 | 4·9 | 112,100 | 2·4 |
| France | 1,500 | 0·05 | 148,300 | 4·5 | 97,200 | 2·6 | 153,600 | 3·3 |
| Germany | 84,600 | 3 | 1,317,000 | 40·4 | 623,800 | 16·8 | 1,157,300 | 24·7 |
| Italy | 2,600 | 0·09 | 196,000 | 6 | 121,900 | 3·3 | 175,800 | 3·8 |
| Rumania | 43,900 | 1·5 | 47,500 | 1·5 | 91,300 | 2·5 | 245,600 | 5·3 |
| Turkish Empire | 89,800 | 3·1 | 175,200 | 5·4 | 879,000 | 23·6 | 479,400 | 10·3 |
| United Kingdom | — | — | 93,600 | 2·9 | 5,700 | 0·2 | 3,500 | 0·07 |

TABLE III.—VALUE OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES IMPORTED
INTO SERBIA

| | 1905 | 1907 | 1909 | 1911 |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Chemicals and drugs . . . | 38,440 | 107,840 | 99,640 | 195,240 |
| Clothing, ready-made . . . | 55,320 | 44,160 | 78,480 | 84,560 |
| Coffee | 43,440 | 36,280 | 39,360 | 63,360 |
| Cotton yarns | 173,880 | 247,240 | 205,600 | 312,120 |
| Cotton manufactures . . . | 195,160 | 326,400 | 246,720 | 398,800 |
| Hides, raw | 85,640 | 194,880 | 84,880 | 210,200 |
| Leather | 51,760 | 87,440 | 78,720 | 110,120 |
| Linen manufactures . . . | 66,960 | 28,520 | 49,480 | 61,520 |
| Machinery (not electrical) . | 112,320 | 200,720 | 122,400 | 296,120 |
| Metals and metal ware : | | | | |
| Iron and steel | 199,840 | 347,560 | 467,840 | 615,280 |
| Other metals | 47,760 | 74,920 | 65,920 | 163,160 |
| Paper | 62,880 | 81,440 | 72,600 | 101,920 |
| Rice | 31,920 | 27,000 | 28,440 | 34,880 |
| Salt | 23,800 | 68,520 | 44,800 | 103,960 |
| Sugar, raw and refined . . . | 94,280 | 65,360 | 36,800 | 33,640 |
| Wood | 40,520 | 28,560 | 25,600 | 63,560 |
| Woollen yarns | 36,640 | 48,360 | 35,520 | 55,560 |
| Woollen manufactures . . . | 111,840 | 135,400 | 138,320 | 172,520 |
| Total value of principal and other articles | 2,224,000 | 2,823,000 | 2,941,000 | 4,617,000 |

TABLE IV.—IMPORTS OF SERBIA, SHOWING PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

| | 1905 | | 1907 | | 1909 | | 1911 | |
|---------------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|------------------|
| | £ | Per- centage. | £ | Per- centage. | £ | Per- centage. | £ | Per- centage. |
| Austria-Hungary | 1,335,000 | 60 | 1,024,000 | 36·3 | 711,900 | 24·2 | 1,897,900 | 40·7 |
| Belgium | 14,200 | 0·6 | 30,200 | 1·1 | 63,600 | 2·2 | 83,200 | 1·8 |
| France | 32,800 | 1·5 | 97,200 | 3·4 | 141,400 | 4·8 | 229,800 | 5 |
| Germany | 250,500 | 11·3 | 812,800 | 28·8 | 1,154,100 | 39·2 | 1,253,900 | 27·2 |
| Italy | 31,300 | 1·4 | 92,000 | 3·3 | 93,800 | 3·2 | 194,400 | 4·2 |
| Rumania | 24,800 | 1·1 | 70,100 | 2·8 | 64,900 | 2·2 | 61,600 | 1·3 |
| Russia | 32,200 | 1·4 | 14,200 | 0·5 | 77,300 | 2·6 | 135,600 | 2·9 |
| Switzerland | 26,100 | 1·2 | 57,000 | 2 | 55,000 | 1·9 | 62,000 | 1·3 |
| Turkish Empire | 104,100 | 4·7 | 133,100 | 4·7 | 194,200 | 6·6 | 152,600 | 3·3 |
| United Kingdom | 212,600 | 9·6 | 408,800 | 14·5 | 303,400 | 10·3 | 381,000 | 8·3 |
| United States | 52,000 | 2·3 | 7,200 | 0·3 | 34,800 | 1·2 | 85,400 | 1·8 |

TABLE V.—FOREIGN TRADE OF THE NEW TERRITORIES
OF SERBIA, 1914

| <i>Exports.</i> | | | | <i>Imports.</i> | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|--|--|-------------------------------------|-----------|--|--|
| £ | | | | £ | | | |
| Cereals | 54,240 | | | Cereals | 67,840 | | |
| Rice | 24,640 | | | Rice | 55,200 | | |
| Flour | 15,120 | | | Flour | 184,120 | | |
| Opium | 287,160 | | | Fruit | 25,400 | | |
| Leaf tobacco | 230,240 | | | Sugar | 161,120 | | |
| Fruit (chiefly grapes) | 142,240 | | | Coffee | 45,680 | | |
| Sheep | 71,720 | | | Salt | 45,920 | | |
| Sheep's wool | 13,920 | | | Spirit | 32,200 | | |
| Hides and skins | 98,640 | | | Tobacco | 76,160 | | |
| Silk cocoons | 120,000 | | | Cotton, woollen, and silk | | | |
| Other goods | 45,880 | | | goods, including yarn | 658,360 | | |
| | | | | Jute goods | 33,880 | | |
| | | | | Leather and leather goods | 90,480 | | |
| | | | | Paper | 32,600 | | |
| | | | | Chemicals and drugs | 51,160 | | |
| | | | | Glass and china | 34,000 | | |
| | | | | Metals and hardware | 223,000 | | |
| | | | | Machinery | 20,480 | | |
| | | | | Building material | 25,600 | | |
| | | | | Petroleum | 49,840 | | |
| | | | | Other goods | 222,640 | | |
| Total | 1,103,800 | | | Total | 2,135,680 | | |

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- (4) The Treaty of Bucarest of August 10, 1913.

The full texts of (1), (2), and (4) are printed in the Appendix to No. 15, *Eastern Question*.

MAPS

Serbia is comprised in two sheets (Sofiya, K. 34 ; and Buda Pest, L. 34) of the International Map published by the War Office (G.S.G.S. 2758) on the scale of 1:1,000,000. For historical boundaries and ethnography see Table and note of maps in *The Eastern Question*, No. 15 in this series.

MACEDONIA

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1920

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

THE area denoted by the term Macedonia has varied greatly at different periods, and has at no time formed a single administrative unit. The term, in its widest modern acceptation, comprised the central and largest part of Turkey in Europe, as it existed before the territorial changes of 1912-13. At that time Turkey in Europe was generally divided into Thrace, Macedonia, and Albania. Thrace consisted of the European part of the vilayet of Constantinople and the vilayet of Adrianople, and Albania of the vilayets of Scutari and Yanina, with parts of those of Kosovo and Monastir. Macedonia was the name given to the large intermediate area comprising the rest of the vilayets of Kosovo and Monastir and that of Salonika. For the purpose of this work, however, a somewhat narrower interpretation of Macedonia is employed; and the boundaries are defined as follows. To the east the mouth and lower course of the Mesta form the limit, and the line of division follows the present Bulgarian frontier over the Kashlar Dag as far as the Dospat range. This it follows north-west, so as to include the upper basin of the Mesta, to the Rila Dag. It includes the valley of the Struma to the neighbourhood of Kustendil, touches the southern point of the former Serbian frontier near Vranje, and follows the Kara Dag and Shar Planina to the present frontier of Albania. This it follows southward along a line of heights connecting the Shar Planina with the

Pindus Range. On the south the boundary follows the old Greek frontier over the Khasia or Kamvunia Mountains to Olympos. South-east is the Aegean.

Thus defined, Macedonia occupies the central position in the Balkan Peninsula, roughly between latitudes 40° and $42^{\circ} 30'$ north, and between longitudes $20^{\circ} 30'$ and 25° east.

It falls under three different Governments. North of a line from Lake Okhrida to Lake Doiran by the Nidzhe Mountains lies Serbian Macedonia; to the south Greek Macedonia, the frontier being clearly defined by natural features, except in the plain between Monastir and Florina. The eastern portion, comprising the valleys of the upper Struma, the lower Strumitsa, and the upper Mesta, forms Bulgarian Macedonia.

The total area is 64,745 square kilometres (approximately 25,000 square miles).

(2) SURFACE, COAST, AND RIVER SYSTEM

Surface

The greater part of the country consists of mountains, which, however, seldom rise above 6,500 ft., and are usually under 2,500 ft. There are four considerable rivers—the Vistritsa, the Vardar, the Struma, and the Mesta—with important affluents, and there is a large number of enclosed plains in the valleys of these rivers. The Vardar, flowing in a deep valley or gorge, cuts the country into two, from north to south. The central position of Macedonia in the Balkan Peninsula can be appreciated from the fact that in it cross the two great through routes of communication: the west and east route from the Adriatic to Constantinople, called in ancient times the Egnatian Way, and the north and south route from the Danube to the Aegean by the Morava and Vardar valleys. This

route is followed by the Belgrade-Nish-Skoplye-Salonika railway, the northern part of the line being Serbian, the southern part Greek.

The regions of outstanding importance in *Serbian Macedonia* are as follows. In the north-west, at the head-waters of the Vardar, is the fertile, grassy plain of Tetovo (Kalkandelen), sheltered by the Shar Mountains and their southern extensions. The rest of the country to the west of the Vardar consists of a triangular area, which may be called the Macedonian highlands. Only near the Vardar are there alluvial areas of any extent, like the Tikvesh, which lies across the lower course of the Rayets and Tsrna. It is a protected region of small plateaux and deep valleys, the most temperate and fertile in Macedonia. In the extreme west is the basin of Dibra, which is the key to the upper valley of the Black Drin, running north from Lake Okhrida. The lake district of Okhrida and Prespa lies in the extreme south-west corner of Serbian Macedonia; there is a strip of fertile plain round the lakes, which attains a width of some five miles on the northern shore of Okhrida west of Struga. The basin of Monastir is the largest in Macedonia, being nearly 50 miles long and 9 to 10 miles broad, and of great natural fertility. On the east bank of the Vardar is the basin of Skoplye (Üsküb), with a total area of about 150 square miles, a deep-soiled and fertile plain, but marshy in the lower parts. The Ovche Polye, or Sheep's Plain, lies south-east of the basin of Skoplye. It is broken into a series of small elevated plateaux, which offer good pasturage during the greater part of the year.

Greek Macedonia is even more mountainous than Serbian. The mountains are so crowded together in its western portion as to leave little room for upland plains and plateaux, but there are small plains at

Vodena, Serfije, and Verria. The valley of the upper Vistritsa lies in a fertile region of low hills known as the Anaselitsa, including the basins of Kastoria and Grevena. The plain of Salonika is not only of great natural fertility, but is also the meeting-place of all but one of the great Balkan routes; it is over 40 miles long from east to west, and 20 miles broad from north to south. In the eastern portion of Greek Macedonia are the extensive plains of Serres and Drama, especially noted for their tobacco, which is exported from Kavalla and Salonika. The peninsula of Khalkidike is separated from the mainland by the long depression containing the lakes Aivasil or Langaza and Beshik. It is remarkable for the three long promontories which project from its southern side, the eastern and western being separated from it by very narrow isthmuses. The easternmost, known as Athos or the Holy Mountain (Agion Oros), ends in a conspicuous peak 6,350 ft. above the sea; it contains twenty monasteries, and has for a long time enjoyed a measure of autonomy as a theocratic republic.

Bulgarian Macedonia comprises the valleys of three rivers, the Mesta, the Struma, and its tributary the Strumitsa. The Mesta flows through the plain of Nevrokop; in the Struma valley are the plains of Jumaia and Melnik; in the valley of the Strumitsa those of Strumitsa and Petrich. These are all highly productive.

There is one feature common to Serbian, Greek, and Bulgarian Macedonia, and to all the plateaux, plains, valleys, and roads in them: all trend towards Salonika. In every other direction obstacles more or less formidable are encountered, the least serious lying north towards Serbia. In Serbian Macedonia everything finds its way to the Vardar, and so to Salonika; in Greek Macedonia, it is to Salonika, not to Larissa

(which is shut off by difficult mountains), that the easiest routes run, and even in Bulgarian Macedonia, where the Struma and Mesta lead direct to the Gulfs of Orphano and Kavalla, the lack of harbours has led men to divert the routes from these lines also to Salonika.

Coast

The coast of Macedonia may be regarded as beginning at Platamona, just north of the old Thessalian frontier. It extends for about 460 miles, and is washed by six large gulfs of the Aegean, known as the Gulfs of Salonika (Thermaikos Kolpos), Kassandra, Agion Oros, Erissos (Ierissos), Orphano (or Rendina), and Kavalla. On the west side of the Gulf of Salonika there is for the most part a level belt between the hills and the sea, with landing-places (*skalas*) corresponding to the principal villages which lie at the foot of the hills. There is little shelter except at Skala Lefterokhori. The Vardar has formed a delta at its mouth which threatens to cut off the inner bay and harbour of Salonika from the greater gulf of the same name, and the river may have to be diverted. The shore, as far as Salonika, is cut into by numerous lagoons and inlets, which are useful only for fishing. At the extreme north-eastern end of the bay lies Salonika itself, the only good port between Volo and Constantinople. The point of Kara Burun, on the eastern shore, is a bluff table-land, 70 to 100 ft. high, commanding the entrance to the bay.

The rocky peninsula of Khalkidike ends in three narrow promontories—Kassandra, Longos or Sithonia, and Athos or Agion Oros—separated by the deep Gulfs of Kassandra and Agion Oros or Monte Santo. There are landing-places near many of the villages. On Longos are the harbours of Koupho on the west,

and Sikia on the east, both near its extremity, and Dimitri, near the head of the Gulf of Monte Santo. On Agion Oros there are special landing-places opposite most of the monasteries, and also at Daphne, which is the principal port of call. The Gulf of Erisos has, just inside Cape Plati, an indentation which forms a safe port of refuge. On the opposite side of the gulf is the Bay of Stratoniki, where the manganese ore vessels are loaded. In the Gulf of Orphano there is an anchorage at the *skala* of Stavros, which has been extensively used during the present war as a base for supplies.

The Gulf of Kavalla is partly protected by the Island of Thasos. The town is situated on a high rocky promontory, connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus, and is the natural economic outlet for the plain of Drama. In bad weather ships in this region have to take refuge either off Thasos or in the sheltered harbour of Leftera (Elefterupolis), on the west side of the gulf.

River System and Lakes

The rivers of Macedonia are extremely variable in volume. They are generally at their fullest in spring and autumn: in spring owing to the melting of the snows, in autumn owing to the rains. During the summer their volume diminishes greatly. The Vardar, for instance, has at Veles a flow of between 23,000 and 25,000 cubic feet (660 and 700 cubic metres) per second in spring and autumn; in dry weather its flow is less than 2,600 cubic feet (74 cubic metres), that is to say, it shrinks to one-ninth of its former size.

In the mountains the rivers flow through deep gorges; in the plains they spread widely. While in the mountains they are rapid and torrential, in the

plains they form large pools and marshes. The streams meander a great deal.

The Vardar is the great river of Macedonia. It rises in the mountains on the west of the plain of Tetovo, and has a course of nearly 200 miles through many gorges. Its only large basins are those of Tetovo, Skoplye, and the Campania of Salonika. It flows into the sea through extremely bad marshes, 14 miles west of Salonika, and brings down a large quantity of mud. It is only useful for flat-bottomed barges and for rafting.

The chief tributaries of the Vardar are, on the left, the Lepenats, which, flowing through the Kachanik defile, provides a route through the Shar Planina from the plain of Kosovo to that of Skoplye, and the Bregalnitsa, which affords access to the valleys of the Struma and Strumitsa. The Tsrna, on the right, is the largest and most powerful of the Vardar affluents. Its volume, just above its confluence with the Vardar, at low water is 4,132 cubic feet (117 cubic metres) per second, and at high water 42,377 cubic feet (1,200 cubic metres).

The rivers of southern Macedonia reach their highest flood in winter. The Vistritsa makes so many détours, and passes through so many defiles, that its valley is almost useless as a means of communication. It brings down large quantities of soil and discharges itself into the Gulf of Salonika, at the western edge of the Campania. Throughout its course it flows in a broad bed, and except in flood-time can be forded in most parts.

The chief rivers of eastern Macedonia are the Struma and the Mesta. Both of these are mountain torrents in their upper courses. In the plain the Struma is 30 to 50 yds. broad, but as a rule only $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep; it overflows its banks, however, during floods, and frequently changes its channel. Before entering the

sea, the Struma forms Lake Tahinos. This lake has an area of 70 square miles and a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 ft. Its banks are extremely marshy.

The Mesta is about 125 miles long, 55–65 yds. wide in its upper course, and 70–100 yds. wide in its lower course, and its depth is 5– $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The basin of Nevrokop is the one large fertile plain in its upper valley. There are defiles as far down as Buk, where the Dedeagach railway crosses the river. After this the valley opens out, and finally, after one more defile at Okjilar, becomes the plain of Xanthi.

The lakes are a notable feature of Macedonian hydrography. Lake Okhrida in the west is 25 miles long, $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide, and in places over 900 ft. deep. It lies 2,264 ft. (690 metres) above sea-level. Lake Prespa is 14 miles long and 8 miles broad. In most parts it is not more than 65 ft. deep, though depths of 177 ft. have been ascertained. It is separated from Lake Mala Prespa, which is smaller and shallower, by a low isthmus, just over $\frac{1}{2}$ mile broad. Lake Prespa lies 2,812 ft. (857 metres) above sea-level, and drains into Lake Okhrida by a subterranean channel. Lake Doiran, which lies 40 miles north of Salonika, is a circular lake, 5 miles in diameter and 36 ft. deep. The lake of Ostrovo is 10 miles long and 2–4 miles broad. The lake of Kastoria, 25 miles to the south-east of Ostrovo, is nearly square, with sides $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length. It is 20–50 ft. deep. The remarkable depression north of Khalkidike, containing Lakes Langaza and Beshik, has already been noticed.

Lake Okhrida is divided between two sovereignties by the Serbo-Albanian frontier, which runs across the south-western part; Lakes Prespa and Doiran are similarly traversed by the Greco-Serbian frontier. The lakes are all noted for their fish.

(3) CLIMATE

Macedonia in general has a climate intermediate between the continental climate of Bulgaria and northern Serbia, with its extremes of temperature, and the Mediterranean climate with its hot summer and mild winter. Without the extreme cold of Bulgaria, the climate of Macedonia is bracing except in summer; nevertheless in its protected plains many of the fruits characteristic of the Mediterranean area are grown.

The Campania of Salonika has the regular Mediterranean climate. The summer is practically rainless; in spring and autumn the rains are heavy. The winter is temperate. The mean temperature in January is 41° F. (5° C.), in February it rises to 45° F. (7° C.). The summer is exceedingly hot, as the surrounding mountains keep off all winds except the north-west, or *Vardaris*, which usually blows for three days together. The mean temperature for Salonika in July is 80° F. (27° C.). The climate of Kavalla is much the same.

From the coast, and the enclosed plains of Drama and Seres, with their Mediterranean climate, to the mountains of eastern Macedonia, which have a central European climate, is an abrupt change. In the Rhodope and the adjacent systems deep snow lies in winter, and even the summer is temperate. At Rilski, just outside the Macedonian frontier, the records show a mean January temperature of 27° F. (−2.7° C.) and only 61° F. (16° C.) in July and August.

West again, in the basin of Skoplye, there is a climate very like the Mediterranean. Rain falls only in winter and spring; in summer the heat is severe, though the July mean is 6° F. below that of Salonika. The basins of Tetovo and Monastir

have much the same climate as Skoplye, but with a mean temperature of about 2° F. lower in summer. The Tikvesh region is actually hotter than any of these plains, except Salonika, and its harvests are one month in advance of those of Skoplye and Monastir. The mountain regions around these plains have a severe climate, and the snow frequently lies in the higher parts even in summer.

Greek Macedonia, outside the plain of Salonika, has a modified Mediterranean climate. The winter is rather colder, and the summer not quite so dry as in the Campania of Salonika. There is also more wind, especially in spring time. In winter snow lies even in the river valleys.

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

The chief obstacle to health in Macedonia is the marshland, which is a feature of every plain. The villages, consequently, are usually placed either on the slopes of the foot-hills, or on the rim of slightly elevated land which surrounds most of the plains.

The natural conditions of the country are otherwise favourable, but the villagers do not take sufficient precautions. Wells are often polluted, and no attempt is made to drain the marshes. In recent years there has been an increase of typhoid and also of typhus; since 1914 the people of Serbian Macedonia are said to have suffered especially from tuberculosis, probably owing to war conditions. In the inland plains and mountains, however, all travellers have found the conditions of life, if ordinary precautions are taken, to be perfectly healthy.

Under the Turkish regime, epidemics of small-pox and diphtheria occurred frequently, and, owing to lack of doctors, cancer and tumours were allowed to make havoc, almost unhindered, among the peasants.

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

All the racial struggles of the Balkans have centred in Macedonia. There are five main races which inhabit the region: Turks, Greeks, Vlachs, Albanians, and Slavs. Of these, the last—the Slav—is divided into Serbs and Bulgars.

The Turks came into the country in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and formed the ruling class till 1912. There are two classes of Turks: the landowners or begs, and the peasants. The landowners, before 1912, were found in every district, but the Turkish peasantry were concentrated mainly in three districts: between the Mesta and Drama rivers, between the Struma and the Bregalnitsa, and in the plain of Ostrovo and the Sari Göl.

The Greeks are concentrated mainly in the cities, particularly on and near the coast, in Salonika, Kavalla, and Seres. Inland they are in considerable numbers in the country west of Salonika, for instance in Kastoria; but in the upper Vardar or upper Struma regions they are in much smaller numbers, except at Melnik, which is a Greek colony, with a complete Greek culture of its own.

A rural Greek population also exists in Macedonia, especially in the region north of the Khasia Mountains, and Khalkidike is almost entirely Greek; so also is the country west and south of Lake Tahinos, and to a more limited extent the plains of Seres and Drama. The Vistritsa valley has a predominantly Greek population, but not of the regular Hellenic character, as it is mainly Mohammedan in religion.

The Vlachs, or Koutso-Vlachs, are probably the descendants of the ancient Thracians, and acknowledge a close kinship with the people of Rumania. Unlike the Greeks they are predominantly a rural

people, not agricultural, however, but pastoral, and they consequently have a habit of migrating annually from their winter quarters to their summer pasturages and back again. They live mainly in the Pindus, in the hills south of Monastir, round Grevena and Kastoria, and in the Meglen. They are, however, also found in the cities—in Salonika, Seres, and Monastir—where they show themselves quite adaptable to town life.

The Albanians or Skipetars¹ are descendants of the ancient Illyrians. The northern Albanians belong to the Gheg branch, the southern to the Tosk. The Tosks have pushed eastwards from Albania, and many now dwell in the plain of Monastir and in the upper Vistritsa valley and Kastoria. The Ghegs live in and around Dibra, Tetovo, and Skoplye.

In Macedonia the Slavs form by far the greater part of the population. Isolated from the Slavs of Serbia and Bulgaria until quite recent years, they were a people apart till 1870. In 1870, however, with the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, a national consciousness began to awake in them. While some remained, as they had always been, under the Greek Patriarch, others accepted the Bulgarian Exarch, while others acknowledged the national Serbian Church. After 1887 propaganda was maintained by the Greek, Bulgarian, and Serbian Governments, and this has become more prominent in recent years; Vlach propaganda was also started by the Rumanian Government. On the whole the claims of Greeks and Vlachs to include certain Slav Macedonians have not been difficult to define, but between Serb and Bulgar the controversy has been terribly acute.

In 1912 the Serbian and Bulgarian Governments came to an agreement by which Serbia recognized Bulgaria's claim on all to the east of Rhodope and the

¹ See *Albania*, No. 17 of this series, p. 7.

Struma, and Bulgaria recognized Serbia's claim on all north and west of the Shar Mountains. As to the district between the Shar, Rhodope, the Aegean, and Okhrida, a line was laid down running approximately south-west from Mount Golem (north of Kriva Palanka) to Lake Okhrida. Serbia claimed nothing beyond this line, and Bulgaria accepted it as a frontier, subject to the arbitration of the Tsar of Russia. The line assigned Struga, Skoplye, and Kumanovo to Serbia; and Okhrida, Prilip, Monastir, and Ishtib (Shtip) to Bulgaria. The agreement, however, became inoperative with the Second Balkan War.

The Macedonian Slavs speak a dialect, or rather various very similar dialects, of the Slavonic tongue. They would be understood by either Serbs or Bulgars, though their language on the whole is more like Bulgarian than Serbian; but this distinction must not be pressed. Like the Bulgarians most Macedonian Slavs use the suffix article, and words which in Bulgar have an *l* have it also in Macedonian, while it is omitted in Serb: e.g. Bulgarian, *belo* (white), Macedonian *belo*, Serbian *beo*.

In religion the Macedonian Slavs who acknowledge the Bulgarian Exarch are more numerous than those who acknowledge the Serbian National Church. For this, no doubt, there is an historical reason, since the Bulgarian Exarchate, recognized in 1870 by Turkey, has worked amid favourable circumstances. The best test of the nationality of a Balkan Slav is, as a rule, his own consciousness; but so much political pressure has in recent years been brought to bear on the Macedonian Slavs, that it is doubtful whether much confidence could be put in a plebiscite. The Bulgarians have done splendid work by establishing schools, and education has undoubtedly done much to stimulate a Bulgarian consciousness.

In what is now Greek Macedonia the Bulgarians also had claims, but in the Campania of Salonika, and west of this, there can be no doubt that Hellenic culture has prevailed among the people. Even west of the Campania, however, there are many Slavs. Vodena, for instance, is an almost completely Slavonic town. East of the Campania (except in Khalkidike), the problem is rather more complicated. Between the lower Struma and the lower Mesta there was before 1912 undoubtedly a considerable number of Bulgarian-speaking peasants, and many of these were Greek in sentiment. In the early nineteenth century there was an influx of Greek colonists from Thessaly into the country south of Seres. Up to 1912 the town of Seres itself was more Greek and Turkish than Bulgarian. Drama, on the other hand, was more Turkish and Bulgarian than Greek, although here, as in practically all the Macedonian towns, there was a prominent business and shopkeeping element of Greeks. Kavalla, as a maritime town, was predominantly Greek, the tobacco industry being mainly in the hands of Thasiotes. Although a clear geographical division is impossible, a line drawn east and west through Seres, Sarmusakli, and Alistrati to the Mesta, would indicate roughly an ethnical boundary. South of this line is predominantly Greek; north of it (including Drama) the proportion of Bulgarians is probably higher as compared with Greeks.

Besides Turks, Greeks, Vlachs, Albanians, and Slavs, there are two other races which should be noticed. These are the Jews and the Gipsies. The Jews are an important class in all the Macedonian towns; in Salonika, indeed, they form about two-thirds of the population. Many of them came into Macedonia at the end of the fifteenth century, having been expelled from Spain by the Inquisition. They remain a distinct people with a strong national sentiment, and do not

require any propaganda to maintain their racial consciousness. They do not, however, complicate the national problem, as they have no prospect or hope of making a Jewish nation in Macedonia. They are good citizens under whatever constituted authority exists in the district. Thus in Salonika, where under Turkish rule they supported the Porte, and particularly in later years the Young Turkish regime, they have since 1912 become a law-abiding part of the Greek State, although not naturally very sympathetic to it. The Jews have the strongest physique of all the Macedonian races, and the passage of time brings no signs of degeneracy.

The Gipsies are in a different condition. In Macedonia, as in all countries, they have the appearance of strangers and sojourners in the land. They have no political aspirations, no national consciousness, and yet they stand wholly apart from the people in whose midst they dwell. Their numbers are very small, and they are of no significance in the racial problem of Macedonia.

Macedonia offers a great variety of languages. The Slavs speak one or other of the various Macedonian Slav dialects which are akin to Serb or Bulgar. The Greeks, Turks, and Albanians speak each their own language. The Vlachs speak a tongue which has only a few phonetic differences from Rumanian, with an admixture of Greek words. Most of them also understand Greek. The Jews all speak Spanish; although their tongue has been modified by certain local developments, it is structurally the same as that used in Spain, and is readily comprehended by any Spaniard. The Gipsies speak Turkish, Slavonic, or Greek, in each case imperfectly. French in Macedonia, as in most parts of Turkey, or of what was recently Turkish territory, is understood in official and business circles.

Religion helps to keep the Macedonian races divided. The Greeks are strongly attached to their own Patri-

archal branch of the Orthodox Church. The Bulgarian Macedonians adhere to the Exarchate branch of the Orthodox Church, and in Serbian Macedonia the bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church hold sway. Serb, Bulgar, and Greek are all Orthodox; their faith, ritual, and system of Church Government are the same; only the head of the ecclesiastical organization is different. Among the Greeks this authority is the Patriarch of Constantinople, among the Bulgars, the Bulgarian Exarch, and among the Serbs, the Archbishop of Belgrade. The Vlachs acknowledge the supremacy of the Patriarch. The religious difference between Greeks, Bulgars, and Serbs is thus very small, and yet it is sufficient to give rise to serious antagonism. All alike make great efforts at proselytizing in support of their respective national propaganda, and cannot be acquitted of the charge of intolerance and even of violence in their methods.

The Albanians are predominantly Mohammedan. Of the southern Albanians, the Tosks, one-fifth or one-sixth adhere to the Patriarchal Orthodox Church, and the rest are Mohammedan. The Ghegs of northern Macedonia are practically all Mohammedan. The Turks are of course almost all Mohammedan, with the exception of three or four thousand who have joined the Orthodox Greek Church; on the other hand, there are a few thousand Greeks in the Vistritsa valley who profess Mohammedanism. The great bulk of the Jews of Salonika have retained their Hebrew religion; nevertheless there is a considerable body (reckoned as 11 per cent. of the population of the city) who are Deunmehs, i. e. Crypto-Jews who profess Mohammedanism and speak Turkish.

The Roman Catholics in Macedonia are very few, chiefly about 4,000 Bulgarian Uniates in the south-east. The Gipsies are said to have no religion.

(6) POPULATION

Distribution

Under the Turkish regime no detailed statistics were kept of population in Macedonia, and the time and conditions have been wanting for the compiling of statistics under the new Governments. The total population immediately before 1912 was over 2,250,000. Of these, Serbian Macedonia had about 1,020,000, and Greek Macedonia 1,150,000. Of the territory added to Bulgaria in 1913, only the Strumitsa valley and the mountainous areas of the upper Mesta and Struma valleys fall within Macedonia. These regions have probably not more than 120,000 people.

The density of population in Macedonia is approximately 90 per square mile. Serbian Macedonia has a density of 103 per square mile ; Greek Macedonia has 88 per square mile ; Bulgarian Macedonia has 40 per square mile.

It is difficult to form any trustworthy estimate of the numbers of the various races in Macedonia. The figures given by the various national organizations differ greatly from one another, and most estimates made by travellers or other authorities are not free from a similar bias. Any figures given would be disputed by the partisans of one or other of the different nationalities. It is, however, to be noted that the changes of recent years, both during the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 and during the present war, have so greatly altered the conditions of population that even figures that were accurate before 1912 would now be to a great extent misleading. With these reservations it may be estimated that in Macedonia there were before 1912 approximately 1,150,000 Slavs, 400,000 Turks, 120,000 Albanians, 300,000 Greeks, 200,000 Vlachs, 100,000 Jews, and 10,000 Gipsies.

Towns and Villages

Salonika, Monastir, and Skoplye (Üsküb) are the only large towns in Macedonia, and of these only Salonika has over 100,000 inhabitants (its population may approach 180,000). Skoplye and Monastir in 1914 had each about 50,000 people. There were four towns each with a population of between 20,000 and 40,000, eleven with populations of between 10,000 and 20,000, and ten with between 5,000 and 10,000. About 25 per cent. of the inhabitants probably lived in towns of 5,000 or more inhabitants.

Village life is, however, the characteristic feature of existence in Macedonia. There are few isolated homesteads, as the Slavs prefer living in groups, and considerations of safety in the Turkish period made this imperative. The villages generally consist of mud houses on the plain, and houses of undressed stone in the hills. The floor of each house is simply earth trodden hard. Two-storied houses are common, but even the houses of the prosperous villages are greatly overcrowded. Several generations of one family live in the same house—frequently as many as seventeen or eighteen persons having to live in one room. A typical village has about 150 houses. Where the country is fertile and the administration not oppressive, villages increase in size, so as almost to become small towns. They remain, however, purely agricultural: the peasants have their little properties outside, and spend their lives working in them. It is likely that the bulk of the population of Macedonia will always remain concentrated in large agricultural villages.

Movement

The history of Macedonia has been so troubled, that the rate of increase among the population has been

extremely slow. Very few statistics on this point were kept under the Turkish regime. The towns have shown a tendency to increase ; Salonika, for instance, has increased from less than 50,000 in 1865, to over 150,000 in 1914. Not merely have towns near the coast increased, but also towns along the railways, such as Skoplye and Monastir. While the towns have increased in size, the country districts have remained almost stationary in population. Estimates made at different times in the last century have not greatly varied. This means that the country districts have been able to supply most of the increase for the towns, without diminishing the numbers of their own inhabitants. The birth-rate in the country districts is certainly fairly high, otherwise the population could not maintain itself as it does, in the face of great infant mortality. The death-rate is high, owing to lack of medical treatment. After the Balkan Wars, the new Governments made great efforts to retain the Turkish peasantry on the soil, and in this to a considerable extent they were successful. Most of the Turks on the land, who were well-to-do, left the country.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 338 B.C. Battle of Chaeronea—Philip of Macedon imposes his leadership on the Greeks.
- 336–323. Alexander the Great.
168. Macedonia divided by the Romans into four Republics.
146. Macedonia becomes a Roman Province.
- 395 A.D. Macedonia included in Eastern (Byzantine) Empire.
577. Slavs first appear before Salonika.
- c. 850–1018. First Bulgarian Empire in Macedonia.
1014. Basil II, the ‘Bulgar-slayer,’ overthrows Tsar Samuel.
1186. Second Bulgarian Empire of Trnovo founded.
- 1204–23. Latin Kingdom of Salonika.
- 1223–46. Greek Empire (and then Despotat) of Salonika.
1246. Macedonia annexed to Greek Empire of Nicaea.
1261. Macedonia re-included in Byzantine Empire.
1346. Stephen Dushan crowned at Skoplye.
1371. Turkish victory on the Maritsa.
1389. Battle of Kosovo.
1393. Fall of the Second Bulgarian Empire.
1423. Salonika a Venetian Colony.
1430. Salonika Turkish.
1870. Creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate.
1872. First Bulgarian Exarch appointed.
1878. Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin.
1890. First Bulgarian bishops in Macedonia.
1899. Macedonian Committee’s memorial to the Powers.
1903. Feb. Austro-Russian Reform Scheme.
 „ Oct. The Mürzsteg Programme.
1905. British proposals for a financial commission.
1908. The Young Turkish Revolution.
1912. First Balkan War: the Greeks occupy Salonika.
1913. Second Balkan War.
 „ Treaty of Bucarest.

(1) MACEDONIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES (c. 577--1430)

It is of practical importance to know something of ancient and still more of mediaeval Macedonian history, because in the tenacious traditions of the Near East the memories of the Byzantine, Bulgarian, and Serbian hegemonomies of that land of conflicting races and overlapping claims have survived. Thus, while no Englishman would found a claim to large portions of France upon the conquests of Edward III, Serbs speak of his contemporary, Stephen Dushan, as if his coronation as Tsar at Skoplye (Ūsküb) had been but yesterday; while Greeks talk of Alexander the Great and Basil 'the Bulgar-slayer', as if the centuries that have elapsed even since the latter's day were a watch in the night. For, the Turks being merely interlopers in Europe, Balkan history, when it was reopened in the nineteenth century, began almost exactly where it had been abruptly cut short in the fourteenth and fifteenth.

The original racial character of the inhabitants of Macedonia is obscure, but there is no reason to suppose that they were at any time exterminated, though they were often affected by foreign influence or immigration. In ancient times they were reckoned as outside the Hellenic pale, though Greek colonies studded their coasts, especially those of the Khalkidike, and their ruling dynasty established its claim to Hellenic nationality. It was in accordance with this claim that Alexander the Great posed as the champion of Hellenism against the 'barbarians' in his conquests; and while, as kings of Macedonia, he and his father Philip imposed their leadership upon the Greeks, it was the language and civilization of Greece, not of Macedonia, that he spread throughout the world. Under his successors, and later when united with Greece as a Roman province, Macedonia became more or less completely hellenized.

The Macedonian question began when the Slavs migrated into the Balkan peninsula thirteen centuries ago. Prior to their immigration, what has since been 'the promised land' of various Balkan races was an integral and undisputed portion of the Byzantine Empire, whose long tenure of Macedonia is considered by modern Greek writers as a strong argument in their favour. Bands of Slavs first began to penetrate into Macedonia in the latter part of the sixth century. In 577 we find them appearing for the first time before Salonika; in 586 they repeated their attack. These onslaughts were repulsed, but several Slavonic tribes settled in Macedonia. In 904 the Slavonic Drougovits and Sagoudats were living in the plain between Salonika and Verrhoia ¹ (Verria); the Berzits, who took part in the siege of Salonika in 676, are said to have left descendants near Prilip; their comrades, the Velegezits, gave their name to a mediaeval province, and are said to be the eponymous heroes of the modern Velestino.² In the seventh and eighth centuries we read of a 'Macedonian Slavonia'. But the only serious competitors for Macedonia whom the Greeks had to face in the early Middle Ages were the Bulgarians, who in 679 occupied that part of their present territory between the Danube and the Balkans which corresponded with the Danubian Bulgaria of the Berlin Treaty. Soon after the middle of the ninth century the Bulgarian Prince Boris was master of the interior of Macedonia; and under his son Simeon (893-927), the first Bulgarian Empire included the whole country, except the coast. Under his feeble successor Peter (927-68), the Bulgarian Empire was in 963 divided into two, the Western, or Macedonian, section acknowledging as Tsar a noble from Trnovo named Shishman.

¹ Jo. Cameniates, in *Theophanes Continuatus* (ed. Bonn), iii. 496.

² Theophanes (ed. Bonn), i. 557, 663.

Under his youngest son, Tsar Samuel (976–1014), whose capital was, first, at Vodena (now rechristened by the Greeks Edessa), then on an island in the lake of Prespa, and then at Okhrida, there was fought the struggle with the Greek Emperor Basil II, ‘the Bulgar-slayer’, for the supremacy of Macedonia. Basil II was victorious in 1014; four years later the Bulgarian Empire was annexed to Byzantium. The Bulgarian Patriarchate, created simultaneously with the Bulgarian Empire, which it had followed from Vodena to Prespa, and from Prespa to Okhrida, fell with it. Okhrida became a Greek see, Macedonia once more a Greek province.

During the break-up of the Byzantine Empire at the end of the twelfth century, a second Bulgarian Empire arose at Trnovo, and spread as far south as Skoplye, while two independent Bulgarian principalities were formed at Prosek in the Vardar valley and at Melnik. But after the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, Macedonia was contested between a Latin, two rival Greek, and a Bulgarian claimant. From 1204 to 1223 Macedonia formed part of the Latin kingdom of Salonika under Boniface of Montferrat and his son Demetrios; in 1223 it was conquered by the Greek dynasty of the Angeloi, which had arisen in Epeiros, and converted into the Greek Empire of Salonika. This ephemeral state received a severe blow from the great Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Asen II at the battle of Klokotnitsa in 1230; and he could boast that he had ‘conquered all the lands from Adrianople to Durazzo, the Greek, the Albanian, and the Serbian land’. The Angeloi remained, however, by his good pleasure, at Salonika; and, upon his death and the succession of a feeble ruler to the Bulgarian throne, the remains of the Greek Empire of Salonika were annexed, in 1246, not to Bulgaria but to the

rival Greek Empire of Nicaea, which, on the recapture of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, was itself merged in the revived Byzantine Empire. Thus, in 1246 Hellenism became once more predominant in Macedonia.

During the first half of the fourteenth century Serbia became the most powerful state of the Balkan peninsula. Already, under Stephen Urosh II (1281–1321), the Serbs penetrated to Serres and occupied Skoplye (Ūsküb), whither he moved his capital, and other places in Macedonia, which were confirmed to him as the dowry of the Greek Emperor's daughter. Stephen Dushan (1331–55) conquered the whole of Macedonia, except Salonika, which throughout remained Greek and has never been either Serbian or Bulgarian, and in 1346 was crowned at Skoplye, which he too had made his capital, as 'Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks'. The Serbs have never forgotten his vast empire, but it crumbled away at his death, and proved, as the late Serbian statesman and historian, Novakovich, wrote, to be only a personal creation of the great Tsar, which died with its creator. Marko Kralyevich, the great hero of Serbian poetry, who was, however, an historic personage, did, indeed, retain Prilip; Serres continued to be the residence of the Serbian Empress; and the great Serbian magnates Ivan Uglyesha, his brother Vukashin, and Bogdan held large tracts of Macedonia. But the Turks had now entered Europe; in 1371 they routed the Serbs in the battle of the Maritsa, in which Vukashin and his brother were slain. Marko Kralyevich retained Prilip and Skoplye only as a Turkish vassal; in 1389 the battle of Kosovo rang the death-knell of the mediaeval Serbian State; in 1393 fell the second Bulgarian Empire, and with it the Bulgarian Patriarchate, which had been restored by Ivan Asen II not to Okhrida but to Trnovo.

Salonika alone survived ; but in 1423 its Greek rulers disposed of it to Venice ; and in 1430 the city, after only seven years' experience of Venetian rule, was taken by the Turks, who held it till 1912. Thus from that time Macedonia was politically under the Turks, ecclesiastically under the Greek Oecumenical Patriarch. Those who were not Moslems were classified collectively, irrespective of their nationality, as 'Greeks'. The only exception was the large Jewish community at Salonika, where we hear of Jews in St. Paul's time and also in the seventh century, but most of whose Hebrew inhabitants trace their descent from the Spanish Jews banished from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century. For nearly five centuries Macedonia remained in Turkish hands.

(2) THE CREATION OF THE BULGARIAN EXARCHATE (1870-72)

The Macedonian question slumbered so long as the all-conquering Turk continued to suppress national feeling in the Balkans, but revived, as a direct heritage from the Middle Ages, as soon as the Balkan races began to revive in the nineteenth century. In its present form the Macedonian question is the direct result of the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate. When the Bulgarians, about 1835, began to recover the consciousness of their national existence, their first aim was to emancipate themselves ecclesiastically from the Greeks and to have a hierarchy of their own race. Their first move in this direction was the erection of the first Bulgarian church at Constantinople in 1848. The next step was the omission of the Patriarch's name from the prayers in this church—an example speedily followed throughout Bulgarian lands, where the demand for separation from the Patriarchate

became so general that the Grand Vizier was ordered by Abdul Mejid to hear on the spot the complaints of the Bulgarian peasants. Meanwhile others, taught by the failures of the Russians during the war in Bulgaria and in the Crimea, turned their eyes towards Rome, just as the Bulgarian Tsars had done in the thirteenth century, and for a similar reason. Dragan Zankoff, the literary leader of this party, pleaded in his journal *Bulgaria* for union with the Roman Catholic Church, in the hope of obtaining thereby the protection of France, traditionally extended to the Eastern Catholics. Zankoff proceeded to Rome at the head of a deputation; and in 1861 Pius IX consecrated Sokolski, an ex-brigand turned monk, Archbishop of the Bulgarian Uniate Church. It was, however, at once evident that comparatively few Bulgars thought French protection worth a mass; Sokolski mysteriously disappeared to Russia; and the plan of including the Bulgarian people within the papal fold remained unrealized. Still, the Oecumenical Patriarch was seriously alarmed by these movements. While rejecting the Bulgarian demands—the so-called ‘seven points’—for a national hierarchy and ecclesiastical autonomy under an elected archbishop, who should acknowledge his supremacy, the Patriarch was willing to appoint Bulgarians or at least Bulgarian-speaking bishops in purely Bulgarian dioceses, and to make other concessions. These the Bulgars rejected; eight more ‘points’ were presented, and refused. The demands of the Bulgars now rose; they declined to accept the Patriarch’s offer of a semi-independent ‘Exarchate of all Bulgaria’ beyond the Balkans, made to them under the influence of the Cretan insurrection in 1866; nothing would content them but an independent national Church, not limited to the district between the Balkans and the Danube.

The Cretan insurrection and the hostility of Greece made Turkish statesmen adopt the advice, given by Fuad Pasha in his political testament, 'to isolate the Greeks as much as possible from other Christians', and 'to withdraw the Bulgarians from the domination of the Greek Church'. Ali Pasha, fresh from Crete, supported the opinion of Fuad; Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, advocated the foundation of a separate Bulgarian Church in the interest of Pan-Slavism. The Patriarch, when pressed, referred the Turkish Ministers to the Canons of the Church; the Turks, invited to decide a nice point of Christian theology, preferred to consider arguments of statecraft. On March 11, 1870, a firman created a Bulgarian Exarchate, comprising the whole vilayet of the Danube, except notoriously non-Bulgarian towns and villages such as Varna, and including the towns of Nish and Pirot, afterwards allotted to Serbia by the Treaty of Berlin. The firman further stated that other places might pass under the authority of the Exarch, if two-thirds of their inhabitants so desired. The Exarch was to obtain a *berat* from the Sultan, to mention the name of the Patriarch in his prayers, and to receive from him the holy oil. Both races at once saw the importance of this act, which laid the foundations of a new power in the east; Christian and Greek were thenceforth no longer synonymous in European Turkey. The Bulgars thanked Ali for his boon; the Patriarchate struggled against the execution of the firman, and succeeded in postponing for two years the appointment of the first Bulgarian Exarch. Then, finding further resistance impossible, the Patriarch excommunicated the Exarch and his clergy as schismatic. From that moment there was war to the knife between Patriarchists and Exarchists; and Macedonia became the battle-field of the rival Greek

and Bulgarian propaganda. Bishoprics became pawns in the political struggle, and peasants killed each other in the name of contending ecclesiastical establishments. The Bulgarian Exarchate had brought not peace, but a sword. The Exarchs resided neither at Trnovo, the seat of the Patriarchs of the second Bulgarian mediaeval Empire, nor at Sofia, the modern capital, but at Constantinople, thus accentuating their claim to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the 'unredeemed' Bulgars of the Turkish Empire.

(3) THE TREATIES OF SAN STEFANO AND BERLIN (1878)

The notorious 'Bulgarian Atrocities' and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8 are referred to elsewhere (No. 22, *Bulgaria*, pp. 16-22). The abortive Treaty of San Stefano,¹ signed on March 3, 1878, became a Bulgarian charter for Macedonia to which politicians constantly appealed, and had a lasting effect on the Bulgarian people. Had it been adopted, it would have restored the Bulgarian Empire of the Middle Ages, and, while hopelessly dismembering Turkey, would have put a final end to Greek ambitions in Macedonia. It provided for the creation of a vassal principality of Bulgaria with a frontage on both the Euxine and the Aegean, and with an inland frontier which marched with the Danube on the north and comprised the Macedonian lakes of Prespa and Okhrida, once the home of the Bulgarian Tsars and the seat of the Bulgarian Church during the first Bulgarian Empire. But the Treaty of Berlin² excluded Bulgaria from Macedonia, which was summarily lumped together with the rest of the Turkish Empire. For this no special administration was provided; and it had to be content with the prospect of

¹ For full text, see Appendix IX to *Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series.

² For full text, see Appendix X, *ibid.*

an organization similar to that which had failed to satisfy the Cretans, the details being left to 'special commissions', representing the native populations. This Article XXIII, destined to cover Macedonia, Thrace, Albania, and the larger part of Epeiros, remained a dead letter, and thus in 1912 provided a *casus belli*.

(4) THE ACUTE PHASE OF THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION (1879-1908)

The creation of a Bulgarian principality in 1878, augmented in 1885 by the union with Eastern Rumelia, increased the importance of the Bulgarian Exarchate, to which it assumed the same relation as the Greek kingdom to the Oecumenical Patriarchate. It was therefore natural that Serbia and Rumania, seeing the headway made by Bulgaria in Macedonia through the erection of the Exarchate, should begin to agitate for the restoration of the Serbian Patriarchate of Ipek (Pech), which had flourished in the Middle Ages but had been finally abolished in 1767, and for the creation of a separate Rumanian Church for the Koutso-Vlachs (Lame Wallachs) or 'Macedonian Rumanians', who, thanks to the propaganda of a certain Apostolos Margarites, had come into prominence as another racial element in this *macédoine* of nationalities. Churches and schools became the favourite weapons of the rivals.

So early as 1869, Prince Charles of Rumania had sent books for the Koutso-Vlach pupils; while from 1885, the Millenary of Methodios, the Apostle of the Slavs, dates the great spread of Bulgarian schools in Macedonia. The Berlin Treaty, by cutting Serbia off from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the secret convention of 1881 by which Austria-Hungary, in return for Serbian non-intervention in Bosnia, promised to

support Serbian pretensions to territory 'in the direction of the Vardar valley', naturally made the Serbs look wistfully to Macedonia and recall the coronation of Dushan at Skoplye. For similar reasons Austria-Hungary was glad to divert the attention of Rumania from the 'unredeemed' Rumans of the Dual Monarchy to the 'Macedonian Rumans', whom Rumania was, indeed, too far away to annex, but who might form a useful subject for 'compensation' nearer home in the event of a Macedonian liquidation. Austria-Hungary, established in the *Sanjak* of Novibazar, was none the less free to contemplate a descent upon the valley of the Vardar and Salonika, until her military authorities discovered that it would be better strategy' to march towards the Aegean through the valley of the Morava, than to traverse the narrow corridor between Serbia and Montenegro, and the cut-throat defile of Kachanik.

The Turkish Government saw that to increase the confusion of the Macedonian races was its best chance of retaining a country where genuine Turks, as distinct from Mohammedan Albanians, Circassian immigrants, and nomad Tatars, were, except in two or three districts, comparatively few. So the Porte favoured now the Bulgar, now the Serb, now the Greek, according to the weakness or importunity of each. Thus in 1890, Stamboloff could wring from the suzerain, by the covert threat of proclaiming the independence of the principality, two *berats* for the appointment of the first Bulgarian bishops of Macedonia at the sees of Okhrida and Skoplye. Great was the indignation of the Oecumenical Patriarchate; in vain it demanded that the Bulgarian clergy should wear a distinctive garb, as the badge of their 'schism'; in vain it closed, as a protest, the Orthodox churches throughout Turkey. In 1894 two more Bulgarian bishops were

appointed; and further concessions to the Bulgars rewarded the neutrality of that principality during the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, when Bulgaria, by cutting the railway between Constantinople and Salonika, might have hindered the dispatch of troops to Thessaly. Thus, too, the appointment of a Serb as Bishop of Skoplye in 1902 divided the Slavs, while the protest of the Koutso-Vlachs against the cession of Thessaly to Greece was recompensed in Macedonia, and in 1905 theirs was again the propaganda favoured by the Turks. In fact, whenever Greece was troublesome to the Porte, the Bulgars and the Koutso-Vlachs benefited; while the latter, as having of all the Christian races least to gain and most to lose by an immediate liquidation of the Macedonian question, were consequently almost as much interested as the Spanish Jews of Salonika in the maintenance of Ottoman rule. In Macedonia, as elsewhere, that rule meant misgovernment; of the reforms stipulated in Article XXIII of the Berlin Treaty none was carried out.

The Greco-Turkish War of 1897 seemed to idealists an excellent opportunity of uniting the Christian races of the Balkans in a struggle against the common enemy. But, under the pressure of their mutual jealousies and conflicting ambitions, and in consequence of the Austro-Russian agreement, which aimed at preserving the *status quo* and withheld the two great Powers most directly interested from exercising a separate influence in the Balkan peninsula, the Macedonian question was stifled. Two years had not, however, elapsed before a Macedonian Committee, which had its seat at Sofia, and summarized its programme in the phrase 'Macedonia for the Macedonians', addressed a memorial to the Powers in January 1899, advocating the formation of an autonomous province of Macedonia with Salonika as its capital, under a governor-general 'belonging to

the predominant nationality', who should hold office for five years. It was believed that this nationality would be Bulgarian; and it was hoped that an autonomous Macedonia under a Bulgarian governor would be a step towards the 'big Bulgaria' of San Stefano. As this memorial proved, however, to be waste paper, and a Macedonian congress at Geneva came to nothing owing to internal dissensions, the party of action took the field.

Bulgarian bands again crossed the frontier, as had already happened in 1895; and conflicts with the Turks took place. But it was soon apparent that the Turks were not the only objects of the Committee's hostility. In 1900 one of its emissaries shot at Bucarest a Rumanian professor who edited a newspaper favourable to the Rumanian claims in Macedonia. Thereupon the Rumanian Government, already at variance with Bulgaria about an islet in the Danube, demanded the punishment of the Committee. The Powers and the Porte supported the Rumanian demand; and Boris Sarafoff, the president of the organization, was arrested with other leading members. The court, however, under the influence of public opinion in Bulgaria, whose army, schools, and press were largely officered by Macedonians, acquitted the accused. A split then occurred in the Committee, the extreme section under Sarafoff favouring force, the moderate men preferring legal means and educational propaganda. The former were aware of the fact that the European press was only concerned with the Balkan races when they were either cutting each other's throats or inflicting damage upon foreigners; and the whole world became aware of the existence of a Macedonian question, when Miss Stone, an American missionary, was captured by a gang of political brigands. Meanwhile, Old Serbia was the

scene of Albanian feuds, culminating in the murder of Mollah Zekko, a donkey-boy who had risen to be the leader of a movement for an autonomous Albania, and whom even the Sultan, always the patron of the Albanians, feared and conciliated. So serious was the state of things, that the Sultan appointed Hilmi Pasha Inspector-General of Macedonia; while Moslems as well as Christians were agreed 'that the provinces of Turkey in Europe cannot be allowed to remain in their present deplorable condition'.

Austria-Hungary and Russia, the two Powers most immediately interested, were of the same opinion; their Foreign Ministers met at Vienna and drew up in February 1903 a modest scheme of reforms for the three Macedonian vilayets of Salonika, Monastir, and Kosovo, which the other Powers supported. They recommended the Sultan to appoint an Inspector-General for a fixed number of years; to reorganize the *gendarmerie* with the aid of foreign officers, composing it of Christians and Moslems in proportion to their respective numbers; and to establish a separate budget for each of the three vilayets, upon the revenues of which the cost of local administration was to be a first charge. The Sultan accepted the Austro-Russian reform scheme, but its sole result was to increase the disorder. The Albanians of Kosovo, suspecting interference with their liberties, rose in rebellion, shot the Russian consul at Mitrovitsa, and held up the Sultan's envoys at Ipek; a gendarme shot another Russian consul at Monastir. The Bulgarian bands, despite the dissolution of the Macedonian Committee by the Bulgarian Government, blew up railway bridges, placed bombs on steamers, and mined the Ottoman Bank at Salonika. The Greeks were terrorized by these Bulgarians and plundered by the Turkish irregulars. The Bulgarians seized Krushevo,

a largely Patriarchist town, and levied blackmail on its inhabitants ; when the Turks recovered it, ' a golden powder rose round them and prevented them from seeing ' (and sacking) the Bulgarian quarter.

These occurrences nearly provoked a Turco-Bulgarian war. The position of the Bulgarian Government was extremely difficult. Nearly one-half of the population of Sofia consisted of Macedonian emigrants and refugees, of whom there were no less than 150,000 in the whole principality, while a military conspiracy complicated the situation. While Prince Ferdinand sought to pacify his suzerain by appointing the Turco-phil General Petroff Prime Minister, Austria and Russia in October 1903 issued a second edition of their reform scheme, called from the place of signature the *Mürzsteg* programme. This programme, accepted by the Sultan, attached Austrian and Russian civil agents to Hilmi Pasha, the Inspector-General, entrusted the reorganization of the *gendarmerie* to a foreign general, aided by military officers of the Powers, who would divide Macedonia among them ; and demanded the reform of the administrative and judicial institutions of the country with the participation of the Christian population. General de Giorgis, an Italian officer, was appointed to command the *gendarmerie* ; and his successor was another Italian, Count di Robilant. All the Powers, except Germany, sent a small contingent of officers, subsequently slightly increased ; and Macedonia was, for police purposes, divided up into five *secteurs*, the British taking Drama (a rich district almost wholly peopled by Pomaks or Bulgarian Moslems), the French Serres, the Italians Monastir, the Austrians Skoplye, and the Russians Salonika. Most of the vilayet of Kosovo, the worst of all, and part of that of Monastir, were excluded from this arrangement. An agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey for the

prevention of armed bands helped to improve the condition of Macedonia in 1904, while a British committee did much to relieve its distress.

But in the autumn of that year a new disturbing element arose. Unable to obtain protection for their fellow countrymen against the Bulgarians, the Greeks organized bands in their turn; and Paul Melâs, one of their leaders, who fell in Macedonia, became a national hero, commemorated by a monument at Athens. The rival parties, which took their titles from the Greek Patriarch and the Bulgarian Exarch, and were secretly encouraged by consuls and ecclesiastics, murdered one another in the name of religion; while the Sultan widened the breach between Greece and Rumania by recognizing the Koutso-Vlachs as a separate nationality, with the right of using their language in their churches and schools. These national quarrels spread beyond Macedonia—to Bulgaria (where the Bulgars destroyed the Greek quarters of Anchialos and Philippopolis), and to Rumania (where the Rumanians demonstrated against the Greek residents), while a common danger caused Greeks and Serbs to lay the foundations of the Greco-Serbian alliance of 1912-13.

Meanwhile, the British Government, disgusted with the slow progress made by the Müritzsteg programme, proposed in 1905, with the approval of the Macedonian Congress at Sofia, its extension to the vilayet of Adrianople, and the appointment of a commission of delegates, nominated by the Powers, under the presidency of the Inspector-General, for the purpose of framing financial reforms. The Sultan at first refused to allow foreign interference in his finances; but the occupation of the custom-house and telegraph office at Mitylene by an international fleet on November 26, and of the Kastro of Lemnos ten days later, forced

him to recognize the four financial experts whom the other Powers had already sent to Salonika as colleagues of the Austrian and Russian civil agents. In March 1908, all the arrangements made for the pacification of Macedonia—the appointments of Inspector-General, civil and financial agents, and *gendarmarie* officers, originally made for two, were prolonged for six years. Shortly before this, Sir E. Grey had made remonstrances at Athens and Sofia against the continued passage of Greek and Bulgarian bands into Macedonia, and had secured the recall of the Metropolitan of Drama and the Greek consul at Kavalla, as active propagandists. Towards the end of 1907 Saraffoff was murdered at Sofia by a Macedonian, at the instigation of Sandanski, leader of the terrorist section of the organization, and an advocate of an entirely independent Macedonia. But still the bands increased, while the British proposal to augment the *gendarmarie* met with no support from the other Powers, mainly occupied with the rival railway schemes of Austria and Serbia. In short, the result of European intervention in Macedonia had been ineffective. If the taxes had been better collected and administered, if the Turkish troops had committed fewer outrages, the strife between Greeks, Bulgars, and Koutso-Vlachs had been bitterer than ever. Such was the situation when the Turkish revolution of 1908 broke out.

(5) MACEDONIA UNDER THE YOUNG TURKS (1908-12)

That revolution was born in Macedonia, for the Committee of Union and Progress had been transferred from Geneva and Paris to Salonika in 1906, and was warmly supported by the Jewish and Masonic elements of the Thessalonian population. It was at Resnya, near the lake of Prespa, that Major Niazi

began the revolutionary movement ; it was in various Macedonian towns that Enver Bey and the Committee first proclaimed the Constitution. For some days Macedonia seemed to have become Utopia. Enver Bey exclaimed that 'arbitrary government' had 'disappeared'. 'Henceforth', cried this enthusiastic leader of the revolution, 'we are all brothers. There are no longer Bulgars, Greeks, Rumans, Jews, Mussulmans ; under the same blue sky we are all equal, we glory in being Ottomans.' At Serres the president of the Bulgarian Committee embraced the Greek Archbishop ; at Drama the revolutionary officers imprisoned a Turk for insulting a Christian. The Bulgarian bands surrendered, and the brigand Sandanski was received like the prodigal son. The new men and the new methods inspired such confidence in the Powers, that they decided to remove the vestiges of foreign control, as the Committee of Union and Progress desired, from Macedonia. The foreign officers were recalled ; the International Commission of Finance ceased to exist ; 'Young' Turkey was to act by herself.

The Macedonian honeymoon did not last long. The much-vaunted equality of races was found in practice to mean the abolition of their respective privileges in a craze for uniformity. Nothing proved such a potent cause of union between the Balkan Christians as the policy of 'Turkification' adopted by the chauvinistic section of the Young Turks, whose plan of reducing the various races and regions of the empire to one dead level of Turkish uniformity provoked general discontent. The Bulgars of Macedonia protested against the immigration of Bosnian Moslems, renewed their revolutionary organization in self-defence, and invited the Powers to resume their control. The Greeks had from the first been suspicious ;

and, when the Greek Bishop of Grevena was murdered, the Oecumenical Patriarch proclaimed equality to be a mere phrase and declared the Greek Church to be in danger. Massacres of the Bulgarians took place at Ishtib and Kochana; and then, for the first time in Balkan history, the Balkan States resolved to solve the Macedonian question for and by themselves. The Balkan War of 1912 was the result.

(6) THE BALKAN SETTLEMENT (1912-13)

The effect of the First Balkan War was that Macedonia ceased to exist as a Turkish province. The victories of the four allies, confirmed by the Treaty of London in 1913, banished the crescent from that sorely-tried land. Macedonia, freed from the Moslem, at once became an apple of discord between the Christians; and the Second Balkan War was the result. That conflict, the Greco-Serbian agreement, and the third Treaty of Bucarest (August 10, 1913) fixed the boundaries of Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia. Greece had, with Salonika and Kavalla, all Southern and Eastern Macedonia to the River Mesta, and extending westward as far as the lake of Prespa, and northward to Gyevgeli and Lake Doiran; Serbia, with Monastir, which she had taken in the first war, as Greece had taken Salonika, became a large Macedonian state. Bulgaria paid the penalty of her vaulting ambition by exclusion from her 'promised land'. Such was the situation when the European War began.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CON- DITIONS

MACEDONIA being politically divided at present between Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria, information as to religious and political organization, public education, &c., will be found in the Handbooks dealing with these countries respectively, viz. Nos. 20, 18, and 22 of this series.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) INTERNAL

(a) *Roads*

MEANS of communication in Macedonia are in general unsatisfactory. They consist for the most part of rough tracks, some of them wide enough for carts, but many fit only for pack-animals. On the plains the tracks become intolerably dusty in summer and impassably muddy in winter ; in the mountains, while their surface is generally hard, they are narrow, stony, and steep.

The principal towns are connected by roads which before the war were of very various quality. Some of them, even along important routes, were poor throughout, and few were continuously good for a long distance. Most of the roads, moreover, varied much in character from year to year according to the weather and the amount of labour devoted to their repair. Only the very best were capable of bearing heavy motor traffic.

Since the autumn of 1915, however, much road-making has been done by the opposing armies. Full details of what has been accomplished cannot as yet be ascertained, but it may be assumed that all important routes have been provided with good roads. There would consequently be no purpose in classifying the roads enumerated below according to their condition in 1915 ; they must now, with scarcely an exception, be fit for heavy military traffic. After the war it should

therefore be possible to devote immediate attention to the improvement of lateral communications—a difficult task, in view of the mountainous nature of the country.

In Greek Macedonia the focus of the principal routes is Salonika, whence the following roads radiate :

1. To Karaferia (Verria), Kozani, Grevena, and Janina. From Plati, 28 miles from Salonika, a road runs southward, keeping near the coast, to the pass of Tempe and Larissa in Thessaly.

2. To Vodena and Monastir ; this leaves the road to Karaferia at a point 20 miles from Salonika.

3. To Doiran and Strumitsa.

4. To Seres.

5. To Pazarkia, Lake Beshik, and Chai Aghizi, along the base of the Khalkidike peninsula.

Lateral communications in Greek Macedonia are generally poor. There is an important road leaving the Monastir-Salonika road 21 miles from the former town and running to Kozani, Servia (Serfije), and Ellassona. There are also two notable cross-roads in the Struma valley—namely, the road from Doiran to Seres, which joins the Salonika-Seres road 10 miles from the latter place, and the road from Chai Aghizi to Seres, Demir Hisar, and Juma'-i-Bala in Bulgarian Macedonia. Farther east a road leads from Kavalla, *via* Drama, to Nevrokop, in Bulgarian Macedonia.

In Serbian Macedonia there is no one outstanding centre of communications, but there are several important points where a number of roads meet. The chief of these are Monastir, Skoplye (Üsküb), and Ishtib.

From Monastir roads run in all directions. Those to Salonika and Ellassona have already been mentioned. To the north-west there is a road to Okhrida and Struga, which is part of the historic route from Durazzo to the East ; in Albania before the war the road was

indifferent, and though it has probably been improved by the Austrians, this cannot be taken as certain. The through road made by the Allies during the war runs from Florina south of the Lakes to Santi Quaranta and Valona. Northwards from Monastir an important road leads to Krchova, Gostivar (Kostovo), and Tetovo (Kalkandelen), whence, turning east, it runs to Skoplye. To the north-east is the road to Prilip, whence there is a road to Veles and another to Krivolak and Ishtib.

Skoplye is strategically the most important point in Macedonia and perhaps in the whole Balkan peninsula. From it radiate several main arteries of communication. To the west runs the road to Tetovo, Gostivar, and Monastir; from Gostivar a road leads to Dibra on the Albanian frontier. To the north-west there is an important road to Prishtina, Mitrovitsa, Novibazar, and Bosnia. Of still greater importance is the road running north-east to Kumanovo, where it forks, one branch following the Morava valley and leading to Nish and northern Serbia, the other going east through Egri Palanka to Gyushevo on the Bulgarian frontier, whence it is continued to Kustendil and Sofia. There is also a road from Skoplye to Veles and Ishtib.

Ishtib (Shtip), the third great centre of communications in Serbian Macedonia, is connected by road not only with Skoplye and Monastir, but also with Kochana, Tsarevo, and Juma'-i-Bala in Bulgaria, and with Strumitsa, whence there are roads to Doiran and the south and along the Strumitsa valley to the Struma.

In Bulgarian Macedonia communications are poor. The principal roads connecting this region with Greek and Serbian territory have been mentioned above. From Juma'-i-Bala a road leading northwards gives access to the old territories of Bulgaria, passing through Dupnitsa to Sofia.

(b) Rivers

The only rivers of importance in Macedonia are the Vardar, the Struma, the Vistritsa, and the Mesta. The Vardar, though a wide stream as far north as Skoplye, has numerous rapids and shallows, and as it is liable to heavy floods, systematic canalization, although advocated by some experts, would appear to present great difficulties. Its drainage area is, for the Balkan peninsula, immense ; from Monastir, Krushevo, and Tetovo, on the west, to the Bulgarian frontier on the east, the mountains pour down their rain or melted snow into the Vardar valley. None of the tributaries is navigable, but some of the largest might be used for generating electric power. The Vardar emerges among swamps near Salonika, between constantly shifting banks of mud and silt ; and the question of containing it within bounds and diverting its mouth away from the town will have to be considered. It may be found feasible to dike the river for a considerable distance and to develop its carrying trade to some extent. Flat-bottomed barges can be floated down from Veles to Salonika, a distance of 120 miles ; but as they cannot return against the stream, they have hitherto been broken up after discharging their cargo.

The Struma, though very rapid after rain, would be easier to deal with. It is smaller than the Vardar, and for long stretches could be controlled without much difficulty. Keeping the stream within bounds would in itself serve to deepen the river and prevent the formation of sandbanks. Lake Tahinos, however, would have to be drained, or at any rate dredged in parts, before the river could become really useful as a means of communication.

The Vistritsa is not navigable, but might be used for developing power. The same may be said of the

Mesta, which in its passage across the eastern corner of Greek Macedonia has a rapid course through a rocky and tortuous valley.

(c) *Railways*

The railway system radiates from Salonika, which has direct communication with Larissa and Athens; Monastir; Nish, Belgrade, and Central Europe; and Constantinople. After the Balkan Wars the question of the future control of the railways in Macedonia was submitted to the Financial Commission in Paris, pending whose decision they were to be conducted on the same conditions as under Turkish rule. Nothing had been finally settled when the European War broke out.

Salonika-Papapouli-Larissa Railway.—This line, which was opened for traffic in 1916, branches from the railway to Monastir at Plati, 21 miles from Salonika. It runs southward for 50 miles along the coast on comparatively flat land as far as Papapouli, a little north of the vale of Tempe, where it crosses the former frontier between Turkey and Greece, and enters Thessaly.

Though the line is an extension of the Athens-Larissa railway, which belongs to the Hellenic Railway Co., it was built to the order of the Greek Government, and is entirely under official control.

Salonika-Monastir Railway. This line runs over easy country in a general westerly direction to Karaferia, a distance of 42 miles. Thence it goes northward to Vertekop (60 miles from Salonika), whence, turning westward again, it traverses very difficult country, with tunnels, viaducts, sharp curves, and long and heavy gradients. Passing Vertekop and Vodena, it eventually emerges on the easier ground about the lake of Ostrovo, whose northern and western shores it closely follows. After leaving the lake at Pateli, it runs south-west over

open country to Ekshisu. There it turns north, climbs the steep pass of Tserovo, and then runs westward to Florina (118 miles). The remaining 20 miles to Monastir present no particular difficulties.

The line, which was completed in 1894, was built by the Société du Chemin de fer Ottoman Salonique-Monastir, a company registered in 1891, with its head office at Constantinople. The concession was to last for 99 years. The Ottoman Government granted a kilometric guarantee of £572, secured on the tithes of the Salonika and Monastir districts. The share capital is £800,000, and 120,000 3 per cent. debentures of £20 each have been issued. The railway has not been financially successful, and up to 1908 the Ottoman Government was annually called upon to make good the difference between the receipts and the sum guaranteed. The last distribution on the ordinary shares, which amount to half the share capital, was made as long ago as 1896, and at the rate of only 1 per cent., though the preference shares have received regular interest at 6, 5, or 4 per cent. Though the French were principally interested in the construction of the line, it afterwards passed under German control through purchases of its shares by the Banque des Chemins de fer Orientaux.

Salonika-Zibevche-Nish Railway.—Of this railway, 48 miles, from Salonika to a point just south of Gevgeli, are in Greek territory. From Gevgeli to Zibevche on the old Turco-Serbian frontier, a distance of 157 miles, the line runs through Serbian Macedonia. Its terminus at Salonika, which it shares with the Salonika-Monastir railway, is connected by sidings with the harbour and docks. The line runs north-west over level country for 16 miles until it strikes the valley of the Vardar, which it then follows as far as Skoplye, keeping close to the river nearly all the way. There are no heavy gradients,

but curves and bridges are numerous, and on several stretches the construction of the line was attended by formidable engineering difficulties. After reaching the Vardar, the line at first follows the left bank, and, skirting the western shores of Lake Amatovo, reaches Karasuli Junction, which is connected with Kilindir, on the Salonika-Constantinople Railway, by a branch built for strategical reasons. About two miles farther, just south of Gümenje, the line crosses to the right bank of the Vardar. After running through the Chingane gorge, it reaches the Serbian frontier, and immediately afterwards Gevgeli. It then continues up the valley, crossing to the left bank between Mirovcha and Strumitsa, but regaining the right bank $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther on. Hereabouts the valley is narrow and tributary streams are numerous, but after the deep and narrow Demir Kapu defile, the country becomes more open and cultivated, and remains so to Veles, 122 miles from Salonika. For 16 miles beyond Veles the line continues to follow the windings of the Vardar, keeping to the right bank except for a stretch of a few hundred yards near Novoselo; but on entering the level plain of Skoplye, it runs straight across country to the town. From Skoplye, 151 miles from Salonika, there is a branch line to Mitrovitsa, 80 miles to the north-west.

At Skoplye the line crosses the Vardar, which it now leaves altogether, going first east and then north to Zibevche. The country traversed is open and undulating, but between Hadzarlar and Preshovo, a distance of 25 miles, there are a number of severe gradients, the worst—a rise and descent of 1 in 66—being south of Kumanovo.

Before the war the rolling stock was inadequate, but if this deficiency were made good, the line would be capable, in times of peace, of meeting any demands likely to be made on it for many years to come. The

chief difficulty will be the running of fast trains to Central Europe.

The line from Salonika to Zibevche was worked by the Compagnie d'exploitation des Chemins de fer Orientaux, founded by Baron Hirsch, and later under Austrian and German control. The company's rights over its lines were to run till 1958. It has no kilometric guarantee, and its annual receipts, after the deduction of a sum of £280 per kilometre for working expenses and interest on capital, are shared with the Government in proportions laid down in its original contract. The company has a capital of £2,000,000 in shares of £20 each, of which £16 is paid up. The dividends have averaged about 5 per cent. of the paid-up capital. The principal shareholder is the Banque des Chemins de fer Orientaux.

Salonika-Okjilar-Dedeagach-Constantinople Railway.—From Salonika to Dedeagach this is primarily a strategic line—a fact which explains the adoption of a very devious and in parts difficult route, the object being to keep the line at some distance from the coast. If the railway had been built for commercial reasons, it would certainly have run across the neck of the Khalkidike peninsula and round the south end of Lake Tahinos, instead of making the long détour through Doiran and Demir Hisar. The railway has its own terminus at Salonika, but two miles out there is a short line connecting it with the railway to Skoplye and Nish. After leaving Salonika the line runs north-west to the valley of the Galiko, which it ascends for some 18 miles. It then crosses the watershed between the Galiko and the Ayak, reaching the latter river at Kilindir (39 miles), where it is joined by the branch from Karasuli on the Salonika-Nish railway. The course of the Ayak is followed as far as Doiran ($44\frac{1}{2}$ miles). Thence the line runs north-east, follows the valley of the Koja Su for some distance, climbs the col of Dova Tepe, descends the

valley of the Butkovo for a few miles, and then goes eastwards along the foot of the Belashitsa Range across marshy country until, having crossed the Struma, it reaches Demir Hisar (84 miles). From there it runs south-east for 36 miles, traversing a district for the most part level and low-lying, and passing the town of Seres (103 miles). At Chepelje Dere the line turns to the north-east, passes through difficult country, where gradients are steep and tunnels are frequent, crosses the Nevrokop river, and then runs over easy ground to Drama (145 miles). After Drama a very hilly region is entered. The line gradually ascends to a height of 1,056 ft., and then falls rapidly to the Mesta river, which it follows to Okjilar, running for the last 10 miles through a narrow gorge, where there are several tunnels and where very skilful engineering was required. At Okjilar the line enters Bulgaria.

Before the European War the permanent way was in good condition. The rolling stock suffered greatly during the Balkan Wars and was said to be deficient; two-thirds of it belonged to the Greek section of the line.

The railway belongs to the Compagnie du Chemin de fer Jonction Salonique-Constantinople, a Franco-Belgian enterprise, founded in 1892. The term of its concession was 99 years, and its line was completed in 1896. It was guaranteed an annual gross revenue of £620 per kilometre by the Ottoman Government, which was called upon every year for a portion of this sum. The share capital of the company is £600,000; and debentures to the nominal value of £6,000,000 have been issued at 3 per cent. No interest on the share capital was paid till 1899, when a dividend of 2 per cent. was distributed. This was maintained each year until the Balkan Wars.

Lines built during the European War.—Since the beginning of the campaign in Macedonia, the military

authorities of both sides have completed several projected lines and constructed a number of new ones. Most of these are light railways with a gauge of 60 centimetres (1 ft. 11·6 in.). All were, of course, intended primarily to serve military interests, but many will, no doubt, be of economic value after the war. In the following list, compiled in August, 1918, they are arranged according to the main lines with which they are connected.

| <i>Main line.</i> | <i>Route of new line.</i> | <i>Approximate length in miles.</i> | <i>Gauge.</i> | <i>Authority constructing.</i> |
|-------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| Larissa-Plati | Katerini-Dranista | 15 | 60 cm. | Allies |
| Salonika-Monastir | Vertekop-Kosturjan | 14 | " | " |
| " | Near Sakuleva (between Florina and Kernali) - Brod and along Tsrna river | 10 | " | " |
| Salonika-Skoplye | Oreovitsa (near Karasuli)-Spanchovo (on Greco-Serbian frontier) | 9 | " | " |
| " | Miletkovo-Negortsi | 13 | " | Enemy |
| " | Miletkovo-Kojnski valley | 11 | " | " |
| " | Strumitsa-Marino-polye | 44 | " | " |
| " | Hudovo-Chestovo | 8 | 4 ft. 8½ in. | " |
| " | Gradsko-Prilip-Topolchani-Dobrushovo | 54 | 60 cm. | " |
| " | Topolchani-Beranche | 8 | " | " |
| " | Topolchani-Kazani | 30 | " | " |
| " | Veles-Ishtib | 21 | " | " |
| " | Veles-Stepantsi (Babuna Pass) | 15 | " | " |
| " | Skoplye-Tetovo (Kalkandelen) - Gostivar (Kostovo) - Krchova and 10 m. beyond | 73 | " | " |
| Salonika-Okjilar | Dudular-Lembet | 5 | 4 ft. 8½ in. | Allies |
| " | Salamanli - Guvezne - Sarachli | 15 | " | " |
| " | Sarachli - Pazarkia | 60 | 60 cm. | " |
| " | Stavros-Chai Aghizi | | | |
| " | Sarigöl - Gramatna - Snevche | 13 | " | " |
| " | Gramatna-Rayanovo | 15 | " | " |
| " | Yanesh-Chuguntsi (on Karasuli - Kilindir branch) | 9 | " | " |
| " | Demirhisar - Dupnitsa-Radomir | 110 | " | Enemy |

There is also a short isolated line, of 60 cm. gauge, from Likovan, on the Salonika-Seres road, to Mirova, a distance of 5 miles.

(2) EXTERNAL

Ports and Shipping

The only Macedonian ports with any considerable trade are Salonika and Kavalla. The other harbours and *skalas*, or landing-places, serve as collecting stations for produce which is to be shipped to Salonika. They may derive importance in future from local industries, but at present nearly all the sea-borne trade of Macedonia must pass through the large port of Salonika or the potentially large one of Kavalla.

Salonika.—Ships anchoring off Salonika, unless they actually enter the harbour, are exposed to the south-west wind, which in winter is at times very inconvenient, and even in summer may interfere with the work of the lighters used for loading or discharging merchandise. Ships can anchor in 7–9 fathoms close to the sea front on a muddy bottom. Changes in depth are reported to be frequent, owing to the great amount of mud brought down by the rivers. There are several piers outside the harbour. One, a little west of the quay, is connected by railway with the terminus of the lines to Monastir and Nish. The harbour is protected by a breakwater 617 yds. long, with an opening at each end. The quay is 437 yds. long, and at either end has a mole 218 yds. long projecting at right angles. There are no docks, but the warehouses cover a very large area. Railway lines connected with the two stations run along both quay and moles.

Salonika is the principal port, not only for Macedonia, but also for the Morava valley of Serbia. Further particulars of its commercial relations with these regions are

given below (p. 89). The number and tonnage of British and other steamships entering the port of Salonika in the years 1909-12 are shown in the following table :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Total No. of ships.</i> | <i>Total tonnage.</i> | <i>British ships.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> |
|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1909 | 1,191 | 1,003,052 | 62 | 111,529 |
| 1910 | 1,167 | 1,113,733 | 100 | 145,636 |
| 1911 | 925 | 1,020,648 | 186 | 181,035 |
| 1912 | 720 | 845,640 | 100 | 196,852 |

The future development of Salonika depends on :

(1) The possibility of increasing the accommodation of the port and enlarging the commercial quarter of the town.

(2) The policy of the states in possession of the regions served by the port.

(3) The prosperity of these regions.

The commercial quarter of Salonika lies immediately behind the sea-front. Its expansion inland has been blocked by the Turkish quarter in the Upper Town, while along the coast to the south-east the ground is occupied by residential suburbs. In consequence, convenient sites for business premises have become very dear. There are no serious obstacles, however, to the erection of warehouses and offices near the railway stations and farther to the north-west. Nor must it be overlooked that the recent destruction by fire of two-thirds of Salonika has given a unique opportunity of improving the town's commercial facilities.

In normal circumstances, the situation of Salonika would preclude any doubt as to its future prosperity. It is the most convenient port for the trade between Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean and the Far East, and it is situated on the great trade-route between Italy and Turkey. Further, it lies within a short distance of regions rich in natural resources which will be actively developed in the near

future. The competition of Kavalla is not much to be feared. This port might in future attract to itself trade from hitherto undeveloped districts, which would otherwise have availed themselves of Salonika, but the position of Salonika in relation to the regions it serves at present is so advantageous that Kavalla would stand no chance of capturing their commerce.

The following shipping lines called regularly at Salonika before the war :—

BRITISH.

Johnston Line : three times a month.

Ellerman Line : every six weeks.

Bell's Orient Line : once a month.

FRENCH.

Messageries Maritimes : twice a month.

Fraissinet & Cie. : three times a month.

BELGIAN.

A. Deppe : once a month.

DUTCH.

Koninklijke Nederlandsche Stoomboot Mij. (Royal Dutch Steamship Co.) : twice a month.

GERMAN.

Deutsche Levante Linie : three times a month.

A. de Freitas : once a month.

DANISH.

Forenede Dampskibs Selskab (United Steamship Co.)
once a week.

ITALIAN.

Società Nazionale di Servizi Marittimi : twice a month.

Compagnia Marittima Italiana : twice a month.

AUSTRIAN.

Austrian Lloyd : once a week.

RUSSIAN.

Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Co. : twice a month.

SWEDISH.

Axel Broström & Son : once every two months.

Besides these, several Greek lines called frequently, and the port was also visited at irregular intervals by ships of the Société Commerciale Bulgare de Navigation à Vapeur.

Salonika has adequate telegraphic communication with the rest of Europe and cable connection with Tenedos and Constantinople. Before the war, there was no wireless station at or near the town.

Kavalla.—The port of Kavalla is one mile wide and half a mile deep ; it is exposed to southerly winds, but sheltered from others. The anchorage is fairly good, the best being in black mud at 11 fathoms. The depth of the water decreases gradually from 13 fathoms as the shore is approached. Close to the shore the bottom is sandy. If the port is to be developed, a breakwater will have to be built—an undertaking of some difficulty owing to the depth of the water. The bay of Kavalla is protected from the south-east by the island of Thasos, which also gives protection to Kalamiti Bay on the mainland to the north, where there is very good anchorage for large ships. This bay and Limena harbour, on the island, may play an important part in the development of the trade of Kavalla. Thasos is treated at length in *Islands of the Northern and Eastern Aegean*, No. 64 in this series.

The trade of Kavalla consists mostly in the export of the celebrated tobacco grown in the district of which Xanthi is the centre. The imports, which are miscellaneous, are comparatively insignificant ; in 1912 their value was £446,000, whereas the exports were valued at £2,400,000. The balance, however, as regards Macedonia in general, is redressed by Salonika, where the imports greatly exceed the exports. The following table shows the numbers and tonnage of British and other ships that entered the port of Kavalla in the years 1909–12.

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Total No. of ships.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> | <i>British ships.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> |
|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1909 | 352 | 266,806 | 8 | 9,327 |
| 1910 | 310 | 295,329 | 11 | 4,409 |
| 1911 | 317 | 344,188 | 65 | 26,333 |
| 1912 | 301 | 321,905 | 28 | 19,397 |

Kavalla is the natural outlet for the produce of south-west Bulgaria and of the part of Macedonia east of the Struma. Any attempt to develop its trade, however, will be faced by serious difficulties. The accommodation of the port is unsatisfactory, and could only be improved at considerable expense. On the land side, moreover, Kavalla is enclosed by hills, which impede communication with the interior and would constitute an obstacle to its expansion in this direction. Nevertheless, the prospects of the tobacco industry of the adjacent regions are so good that some financial risk might justifiably be run in an effort to increase the facilities of the port.

The Austrian Lloyd steamers called once a week at Kavalla on their voyages between Trieste and Constantinople. Greek and British vessels visited the port at irregular intervals.

Kavalla is a telegraph station, and is connected with Thasos by cable.

Minor Ports.—Skala Katerinis is the port of Katerini, which is on the Salonika–Larissa railway, about 25 miles north of Papapouli. There is anchorage for a number of ships and ample space for landing, but the shelter is inadequate, and in a rough sea little work can be done. Katerini derives a certain importance from the timber trade of the forests of Mt. Olympus.

Skala Kitrou is about 10 miles north of Katerini, and is sheltered from both south and west. Until the Salonika–Larissa railway was made, Kitros, which lies on no good road, was too inaccessible to be commercially important, but now, in view of the need of

ports on the western shores of the Gulf of Salonika, it may perhaps develop considerably.

Six miles farther north is Skala Lefterokhori, off which there is good anchorage.

In the Longos peninsula, the central prong of Khalkidike, there are three natural harbours, Kufos Bay, Sikia Bay, and Dimitrios Bay. In the Gulf of Erisos, on the east coast of Khalkidike, Plati harbour affords good shelter, and the *skala* of Stratoniki serves as a port for the mines of Izvor.

Chai Aghizi is an open roadstead just west of the mouth of the Struma. There is good anchorage in 16 fathoms, but landing has to be accomplished on a sandy beach. At present only sailing vessels engaged in the coasting trade call at the roadstead, but it has been considered as a possible site for a large port. Skala Stavrou, which has a sheltered anchorage and good piers, served as a base of supply for this region during the war.

Leftera Bay, about nine miles south-west of Kavalla, is a small but well-sheltered inlet with room for several ships. The 5-fathom line runs close to the shore, and the sandy beach affords a good landing-place.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) LABOUR

The various elements in the population of Macedonia differ greatly in their industrial and commercial capabilities. The Slavs, who are most numerous, are in general peasants—frugal, hard-working, ignorant, but not unintelligent. Under Turkish rule they had little chance of bettering their lot; but that they were not naturally unenterprising is shown by the fact that Slavs who had learnt a trade sometimes went to

Salonika, or even to Athens and Constantinople, where they would work for some years, afterwards returning home with their savings. With their industry, endurance, and simple wants, the Macedonian Slavs should make most useful workmen under peaceful conditions.

What has been said about the Slavs will apply generally to the Greeks of the peasant class. They are perhaps rather quicker and cleverer, but not quite so industrious. Both races, however, show wonderful skill in certain branches of agriculture, such as the raising of tobacco and silk-worms. As for the Greek of the towns, he is of the type familiar throughout the Near East—intelligent, enterprising, not always reliable, a keen business man and politician, proud of his nation and eager to further its aspirations. In Macedonia the professional classes, and, except in Salonika, most of the merchants, tradesmen, and skilled artisans are Greek. The Greeks of the sea-board are excellent sailors. There is a Greek colony in every town.

The Vlachs, though less numerous, play an important part in the economic life of the country. They are most thickly settled in the south-west, but are to be found everywhere. They are the shepherds, innkeepers, and carriers of the community, and many of them engage in trade, though seldom on a large scale. The shepherd Vlachs have their homes in upland villages, but their life is largely nomadic, as they have often to wander far afield in search of pasture, sometimes even visiting the Thessalian plain in winter. They are said to be but indifferently honest. On the other hand, the Vlach tradesmen and carriers have a reputation for both ability and integrity.

The Turks who remained in Macedonia after the Balkan Wars were mostly peasants. They were trustworthy and industrious, but not intelligent enough for

skilled work. In future, however, the Turkish element, if it exists at all, will probably be quite insignificant.

The Albanians settled in Macedonia have abandoned their national clan-system, with its accompaniments of blood feuds and brigandage, but have retained their racial virtues of courage, dignity, honesty, and truthfulness. They are consequently often employed as bank-messengers, couriers, and superior servants, or in other positions of trust. They have overcome the Albanian contempt for manual labour, and may be found working as masons or even as navvies. Difficulties, however, may arise if they are employed in large undertakings, as they are inclined to keep to themselves and to despise the other races of the country.

Jews are numerous, especially at Salonika, where they constitute the majority of the population. The commerce of the town, both wholesale and retail, and its foreign trade are largely in their hands. The poorer Jews make excellent workmen, and are in great demand as dock-hands at the port.

Under the rule of Abdul Hamid, emigration from the Turkish Empire was, as far as possible, prevented by the Government. Very few Mussulmans were able to go abroad, and the Christians who succeeded in doing so were generally actuated by political rather than economic motives. In the decade preceding the Balkan Wars large numbers of Slavs with Bulgarian sympathies left Macedonia, driven to it mainly by the persecutions inflicted on them by their fellow Christians of Greek race or Serbian leanings. Some went to Bulgaria itself, others to America. The latter class left their families behind, and many are said to have returned when the First Balkan War broke out. The Treaty of Bucarest, however, led to a further emigration to Bulgarian territory of Slavs from the parts of Mace-

donia annexed by Serbia and Greece. Many Turks and Mussulman Albanians also left the country, the Turks going for the most part to Asia Minor.

For many years there was virtually no immigration into Macedonia. After the Balkan Wars, however, a number of Greek refugees from Thrace and Asia Minor arrived in the country. The Greek Government encouraged them to settle there, but its schemes were cut short by the European War.

Though the demand for labour in Macedonia has not hitherto been great, there were not wanting signs, even before 1912, that the supply was becoming seriously short. Dock-hands at Salonika were sometimes able to obtain seven or eight shillings a day, while in the neighbourhood a daily wage of 3s. 6d.—an enormous rate for the Balkans—failed to attract sufficient labour to get in the harvest. The population was small in relation to the size of the country; it must have been materially reduced in the recent troublous years; and it is evident that any settlement of the Macedonian question will lead to a considerable displacement of the inhabitants. While the places of those who leave may be gradually filled by immigrants from the states which benefit by the new arrangements, it is probable that for some time to come the population will remain smaller than it was before the Balkan Wars. The economic progress of the country is therefore likely to be slow. The labour problem, moreover, will be complicated by the growth of Socialism and Syndicalism, which were influential at Salonika even before 1912, and have probably become still more widespread of late owing to the intimate connexion between Macedonia and Western Europe.

(2) AGRICULTURE

While much of Macedonia is mountainous and unfit for cultivation, the soil in the plains and on some of the plateaux is very fertile. The regions best suited for agriculture are the large plains of Salonika, Seres, and Skoplye, and the smaller ones of Ellassona, Monastir, and Drama. There is no doubt that the agricultural produce of Macedonia might be greatly increased, for the methods of cultivation employed have generally been most unscientific, and much good land has been left untilled.

(a) Products of Commercial Value

Cereals.—Most of the cultivated land is under cereals. The principal corn-growing regions are the plains of Salonika, Monastir, and Skoplye. In the ten years before the war, owing to bad seasons and the disturbed state of the country, the grain-crops of Macedonia had greatly decreased: whereas at one time the districts named produced over 500,000 tons of cereals, they have lately yielded only 100,000. In consequence, the country, which ought to have a valuable export trade in grain, has been compelled to import wheat in large quantities.

The chief crops raised are wheat, maize, barley, oats, and rice. Wheat is the crop most largely grown around Salonika and Monastir, but it is not much cultivated in the Skoplye district. Maize is grown throughout Macedonia wherever the soil is suitable, and is the crop most favoured in the district of Skoplye. A large area is under barley, especially around Skoplye and Salonika. Oats, though less popular than the three crops mentioned, receive much attention, particularly in the plain of Skoplye. Rice is raised in various places where the soil is damp; large quantities are produced

in the irrigated country round Kochana, north-east of Ishtib, and in the Strumitsa valley in Bulgarian Macedonia.

Tobacco.—This is the most valuable product of Macedonia. Under Turkish rule all tobacco was under the control of the Régie Ottomane des Tabacs, and the Greek Government, under whose rule most of the tobacco-growing districts passed, has hitherto regulated the industry on much the same principles as were previously followed.

The ground for tobacco-growing must be chosen with care ; it must not be too damp, but there must be enough moisture to counteract the heat of the sun, or the quality of the leaf suffers. Many parts of Macedonia have a climate and soil particularly suited to tobacco. The most favourable region is the country behind Kavalla, which produces some of the best tobacco in the world ; but leaf of good though less famous quality is raised in large quantities elsewhere—especially in Khalkidike ; around Langaza (near Salonika), Kukush, Gevgeli, and Kochana ; in the western part of the plain of Salonika ; in the neighbourhood of Florina ; and in the valleys and small plains of Bulgarian Macedonia. At Kavalla 15,000 men and at Salonika 2,000 are kept at work for several months each year selecting the leaf. Before the war Austria and Germany took more than half the tobacco produced in Macedonia ; the United States ranked next in importance as a buyer, followed by Egypt and Italy.

Opium.—The cultivation of the poppy is of considerable importance ; Macedonian opium is of good quality, and ranks higher than that of Smyrna. In 1910 the opium exported from Salonika was valued at £165,000 ; most of it went to the United States, Germany, or the Far East. Seres, Kukush, and Langaza are the chief opium-growing districts of Greek Macedonia, where the

old Turkish tithe on this product has been replaced by an export duty of about 3s. a lb. In Serbian Macedonia the poppy is cultivated at Kumanovo, Ishtib, and Veles, in the Tikvesh region, and in the plain of Monastir. There is an important opium market at Skoplye. The lot of the cultivators, who used to be at the mercy of speculators from Salonika, was latterly improved through advances made to them by the Agricultural Bank of Serbia and the Franco-Serbian Bank. The industry, in both Greek and Serbian Macedonia, is capable of great expansion.

Cotton.—The success of experiments in the cultivation of Egyptian cotton in Thessaly suggests that this crop might become a source of great wealth to Macedonia. In the past, cotton was largely cultivated there; and towards the end of the nineteenth century the average annual yield was 20,000 tons, of which nearly two-thirds was exported. The fall in the price of cotton, however, led many of the peasants to abandon its cultivation and to grow tobacco instead. It is, nevertheless, still an important crop around Drama and Seres, in the Salonika plain, and in the hilly region west of Gevgeli. The neighbourhood of Seres seems particularly suited to it, and used to produce more than half the cotton grown in the country.

Red Pepper (paprika).—This is widely cultivated, the soil and climate being particularly favourable to it.

Fruits.—Vines are grown in almost every part of Macedonia, the climate and soil being very suitable. Little, however, is known about scientific viticulture; and, considering the favourable conditions, the yield is poor in both quality and quantity. The best wine is made in the neighbourhood of Niaousta, on the western edge of the plain of Salonika, and in the Tikvesh district of Serbian Macedonia.

Many other fruits flourish. Apples, pears, plums,

apricots, melons, and other familiar orchard and garden fruits are abundant. In many parts of southern Macedonia figs and almonds grow well. Olives, on the contrary, are surprisingly rare, the only region where they are common being the sea-board of Khalkidike.

Fruit-growing should become as large and valuable an industry in Macedonia as it has long been in Serbia. Hitherto it has hardly ever been practised according to scientific methods, and the small quantity of fruit exported gives no indication of what the country is capable of producing. The native cultivator has relied almost entirely on the favourable natural conditions, which he has supplemented, if at all, by only the most elementary artificial measures; but with the removal of Turkish rule, he may be expected to show more foresight and enterprise.

Live-stock.—There are extensive pastures in Macedonia, and although they are not as a rule of very good quality, they might support far more cattle and sheep than have hitherto been kept. The best grazing-grounds are in Serbian Macedonia, especially in the west, towards the Albanian frontier. On the plains the grass becomes very dry in summer, but in winter, when many of the upland pastures do not yield sufficient nourishment for sheep, the low-lying districts are visited by large flocks, which have often travelled great distances.

The prevention of the wanton destruction of the forests would indirectly bring about an improvement in much of the pasture-land, but even more vital to the future of stock-raising in Macedonia is the introduction of new breeds and of improved methods of feeding and housing. Up to the present little discrimination has been displayed in the selection of animals for breeding; and in the care of both cattle and sheep great ignorance and indeed indifference are shown. The horned

cattle are very small, thin, and weak ; and a whole team is needed to pull the wooden plough which is in general use. Cows are commonly used as draught-animals, and naturally yield very little milk, and that of poor quality. In the plain of Monastir, however, the cattle are rather better than elsewhere. Sheep are far more numerous than cattle. They too are small, though hardy, and their wool is generally scanty and coarse. Several breeds are known in the country, but the yield and quality of the wool depend less on the breed than on the conditions under which the animals live. Sheep that are taken to the plains in winter do best ; those that remain on the mountains, usually without adequate shelter, grow wool which, though plentiful, is exceedingly coarse.

As Macedonia was till lately under Mohammedan rule, pigs are not numerous, and those that are kept are seldom of good breed. Pig-breeding, however, is a source of much profit to the peasants in the old territories of Serbia, and it should be equally successful in Macedonia.

Goats are found everywhere, and call for no special remark except that they do great harm to the forests. Horse-breeding receives comparatively little attention. Donkeys and mules are commonly employed for pack transport, and camels have been tried in the plain of Monastir and the dry region of Ovche Polye near Ishtib. In the south the buffalo is frequently used as a draught animal.

Silk. — Sericulture is a very promising industry, the climate being suited to the mulberry-tree. The tree grows best in the districts of Gevgeli and Voden, but is successfully cultivated in many other parts of both Greek and Serbian Macedonia. The cocoons are bought by itinerant Salonika merchants, who export them to France and Italy. Before the Balkan Wars

the industry was growing rapidly. In 1910 the value of the cocoons exported from Salonika was £213,000, about a third of which was accounted for by Serbian Macedonia.

(b) Methods of Cultivation

The methods employed by Macedonian cultivators are in general primitive. The implements used are crude, the antiquated and inefficient wooden plough being still in common use. Little attempt is made to increase or conserve the natural fertility of the soil, whether by manure or by a scientific rotation of crops. It must, however, be remembered that owing to the general insecurity of life and property in recent years and to the unsatisfactory conditions on which land was usually held, the Macedonian peasant had little incentive to improve his holding. With the establishment of an efficient and congenial government, he would probably show much more zeal; in fact, it is reported that at the outbreak of the European War he was beginning to buy agricultural machinery and was showing himself anxious to learn modern methods of cultivation. He was of course hampered by his poverty, but in Serbian Macedonia this obstacle would have been largely removed by the Agricultural Bank of Serbia, which the Government established in its newly-acquired territories, and which, but for the conquest of Serbia, would have given the peasants an opportunity of obtaining credit on favourable terms.

(c) Forestry

The climate and soil of Macedonia are in general favourable to the growth of forest trees, and it is known that in former times the mountains were mostly covered with valuable timber. Up to the Balkan Wars,

indeed, the area reckoned as forest by the Turkish authorities was very large. In Greek Macedonia the official computation had some support in facts: the Pindus Range and its branches are largely clothed with forests; the Kara Tash Mountains, which bound the plain of Salonica on the west, abound in good timber; and, except in the peninsula of Kassandra, the Khalakidike region is well wooded. There are, too, extensive forests on the mountains in the Bulgarian part of the country. But in Serbian Macedonia most of the highland districts have been denuded of forest trees, and only on the western and eastern frontiers are extensive woods to be found. Dwarf oak is plentiful, and many of the hills are covered with young trees, but these seldom reach maturity, as they are cut down for making charcoal, or destroyed by cattle and goats. After the Balkan Wars the Serbian Government at once took measures to reclaim waste land suitable for timber-growing and to check the depredations of the peasants in the forests that still existed; but little effect could be produced in the short interval of peace that was granted them.

On the lower slopes of the mountains the most abundant trees are oak and chestnut, which, as the ground rises, give way to beech, pine, and fir. When the European War broke out, the only forest in Macedonia which was being commercially exploited was one near Niaousta, the property of a British subject. The future of forestry in Macedonia depends mainly on the improvement of the means of transport and communication. Unless this is vigorously taken in hand it will be impossible to establish a successful lumber industry, as the best forests are mostly in remote regions, and it will still cost more to convey timber from them to the towns than to import it from overseas.

(d) Land Tenure

Under Turkish rule landed property in Macedonia fell into three main classes. There were a number of free peasant holdings, many of which belonged to Mussulmans, whether Turks, Albanians, or immigrants from Bosnia and other provinces formerly included in the Ottoman Empire. There were also a few large estates, owned by Christian landlords, where farming on a large scale was attempted, as a rule without much success, owing to lack of labour. Far more numerous and important were the estates of the Mussulman *begs* and *agas*, both Turk and Albanian, to whom most of the land belonged. Such property, which had often been acquired, even in recent times, by force or fraud, was very rarely cultivated by the owner, but was let in small parcels to peasants, generally Christians, who as a rule held their farms on a precarious tenure of the *métayer* type. While it is true that the leases were usually renewed when they fell in, and that a farm sometimes remained for centuries in the occupation of the same family, the conditions were unfavourable to enterprise and energy. Moreover, whatever his tenure, the Macedonian peasant was continually exposed to the exactions of corrupt officials and the ravages of marauding bands.

The peasants farming a large estate generally formed a village community, which was recognized by the State and enjoyed certain small rights of self-government. This organization stimulated a feeling of solidarity in the peasant class, which gave rise, especially after the Revolution of 1908, to an agitation for the expropriation of the landlords and the conversion of the farms into independent holdings. Some of the peasants achieved their object by purchase, but the policy favoured by most was to seize every pretext

for evading their obligations, in the hope of convincing both landlords and Government that the existing system was unprofitable and unworkable. So dangerous was the temper shown that some landlords were afraid to visit their own estates.

During the Balkan Wars economic discontent, intensified by racial and political animosity, made full use of its opportunity. Not only were the Mussulman landlords deprived of their revenues and exposed to great personal danger, but the Mussulman peasants also suffered terribly, many being killed, while those who escaped this fate generally had their houses destroyed and their lands ravaged. Not a few Turks and Albanians fled, and after the war, faced with the prospect of Christian rule, many of those who remained were eager to dispose of their property and to settle elsewhere. To complicate the agrarian situation, a great number of Slavs with Bulgarian sympathies also left the country, while Greeks in districts allotted to Serbia, and Serbians in districts allotted to Greece, were often anxious to emigrate to the territories of their compatriots.

The land question was consequently one of the most perplexing of the many difficulties which the Greek and Serbian Governments were called upon to face in their new territories. The ambitions of the peasants, the complaints of the landlords, the danger of a rapid depreciation of land owing to the offer of numerous estates for sale, the possibility of expropriating big landlords who did not wish to sell, the threatened decrease in the area under tillage, the provision of land for the numerous Greek refugees arriving from Thrace and Asia Minor, all constituted problems which demanded cautious yet prompt treatment. Both the Greek and the Serbian authorities set about their tasks without delay. The Greek Government began the

registration of all titles to land and the reform of the Turkish system of land taxes, and busied itself with schemes for the relief of Greek exiles from Turkey. The Serbian Government appointed a commission to investigate the whole agrarian question in its new territories. But neither state had time to formulate a definite policy before the Balkans were again involved in war. It appears, however, that both Governments are in favour of placing the land in the hands of small peasant proprietors.

(3) FISHERIES

The lakes and maritime waters of Macedonia abound in fish. The lake of Okhrida, in particular, is famous for its salmon trout, which furnish one of the staple foods of the district. Pazarkia, on the south shore of Lake Beshik, has a fleet of 80 fishing boats : the catch is sent to Salonika on mules. The lagoons at the mouth of the Vasilika river yield good fish. Sea-fishing is also carried on from many villages on the coast, among which Erisos deserves special mention.

In 1912 Salonika exported to Turkey and Serbia about 70 metric tons of live eel and carp, valued at £5,600 ; this was double the amount exported in 1911, notwithstanding the war. In 1913, according to the British Consular Report, ' fish-products ' to the value of £42,700 were exported, but neither the character nor the origin of the commodities included under this head is indicated. Until recently the development of the fishing industry was hindered by the licence-fees, royalties, and taxes imposed by the Turkish Government. After the Balkan Wars these charges were considerably reduced by the Greek Government, but until the facilities for the transport and storage of fish are greatly improved, it is not likely that the industry will attain much importance.

(4) MINERALS

The mineral resources of Macedonia are undoubtedly large, but the output is very small. In the days of the Roman Empire and during the Middle Ages, there was a prosperous mining industry, but after the Turkish conquest it steadily declined. During the last hundred years the mineral wealth of Macedonia has attracted the attention of foreign capitalists; and in recent times many mining concessions were granted by the Turkish Government. Few of these, however, have produced material results. The chronic unrest of the country, the lack of means of communication and transport, and the heavy taxes and dues imposed by the authorities made prospects uncertain and initial expenses heavy; and the capital raised for the working of a concession was seldom sufficient to give much chance of success. It was thought, however, that after the transference of Macedonia to Greece and Serbia, the chief obstacles to mining enterprise would soon be removed.

(a) Natural Resources

Among the minerals known to exist in Macedonia the following are the most important:—

Antimony.—Antimony ores are worked at the Allchar Mines, which lie near Rozhden, just north of the Greco-Serbian frontier. Antimony is also found in Greek Macedonia at several places in Khalkidike and near Gümenje, and in Serbian Macedonia near Krivolak, Skoplye, and Kratovo.

Arsenic.—The arsenical ores, orpiment and realgar, are mined at Allchar.

Asbestos.—Asbestos is found, but not worked, at Gevgeli, Salonika, Vasilika, and Galatista.

Chrome.—Chrome is the most widely distributed of all Macedonian minerals. It is worked at several places

in Khalkidike, and it is stated that during the war mines have been opened at Karaferia and Niaousta. Unworked deposits exist in many parts of both Greek and Serbian Macedonia.

Coal.—There are few traces of coal. Lignite is mined near Ishtib, and during the war workings have been opened at Dranista, between Karaferia and Katerini. Small deposits are also known to exist near Veles and Khalkidike.

Copper.—Copper ore is mined at Dugi Hrid in Serbian Macedonia and at Yardimli, at the foot of the Rhodope mountains, on the railway from Salonika to Dedeagach. Copper also occurs near Gevgeli and Gradsko, and in one or two other localities.

Gold.—Gold-washing is carried on by primitive methods on the lower reaches of the Vardar, the Butkovo, and the Mesta. The total output is said to amount to about 120 kgs. a year. It seems to be generally recognized that the Krusha Balkan mountains are rich in gold, which might be profitably worked. Its existence in the valleys of the Struma and Galiko has also been noticed. A concession was granted for the exploitation of gold deposits at Avret Hisar, on the road from Salonika to Doiran, but the results cannot be ascertained. Auriferous pyrites has been found in some of the mines of Khalkidike. In Serbian Macedonia, the Kara Dagħ region, north of Skoplye, is said to contain much gold, but little of it lies near the surface.

Iron.—Iron occurs frequently and in various forms, but has not been much worked. The most important mines are at Chichevo near Negotin. It is also mined at Dugi Hrid. Iron ores are found near Kumanovo and Veles, east of Egri Palanka on the Bulgarian border, and in the Osogov Mountains, where in times past they were smelted. In Greek Macedonia iron

occurs in the Rhodope Mountains and the Khalkidike mining area, and near Karaferia, Vodena, Ostrovo, and Resna. On the whole the prospects of remunerative exploitation are not good.

Iron pyrites.—Iron pyrites is one of the products of the celebrated mines of Khalkidike. The principal sources of this mineral are the Izvor mines in the Madenochoria district, and those of Polygyros and Yerakino in the Khassia region at the head of the Gulf of Kassandra.

Lead.—Lead occurs with silver (*q.v.*). It is found in conjunction with other metals at various places, such as Izvor in the Gümenje Mountains (to be distinguished from Izvor in Khalkidike), and around Kumanovo, Veles, and Kratovo. In the last-named region it is particularly abundant near Zletovo. Near the village of Blezenska is the Emir Musa mine, which contains lead, and not far distant is the Kala Rupa mine, in the neighbourhood of which there are thirteen parallel veins in close proximity. Rich lead glance used to be worked in the same locality by the Turkish Government, but the exact spot is now unknown.

Magnesite.—Considerable quantities of magnesite have been mined at Izvor, Polygyros, and Yerakino, in Khalkidike. There is also a rich mine at Kayachali, 11 kilometres east of Salonika. Near Pisciona, magnesite is found in such large quantities that it can be quarried, and it is estimated that 100,000 tons might be obtained from this district. Concessions for magnesite at Vasilika and Vavsos, where it is abundant, have been granted. At Majarlik, east of Skoplye, there are wide veins of pure magnesite. A concession for working these was obtained. It is doubtful, however, whether much mining has been done anywhere except at Izvor, Polygyros, and Yerakino.

Manganese.—Manganese is found in many parts, and

is worked in the mining area of Khalkidike. It is also present in considerable quantities with lead and silver at Lipsasa and Varvara, near the shores of the Gulf of Orfano, and at Horoda, on the northern edge of the Beshik Dagħ. In Serbian Macedonia, important deposits are said to exist near Gradsko, Veles, and Kumanovo.

Marble.—Marble of fine quality is worked in the Olympus region and near Gevgeli. Marble-quarrying should become an important industry in southern Macedonia.

Silver.—Silver is comparatively rare, and occurs chiefly in admixture with lead. Lead glance containing silver ore is found in the Osogov Mountains. In conjunction with lead and antimony silver has been noticed at Horoda, Varvara, and Lipsasa; and silver-lead ore has been worked, though not with much energy, in the district bordering on the Gulf of Kassandra. Silver is also found with lead at Gherechik, in the Drama district.

Slate.—There are slate quarries at Papadiya near Gradsko. These were idle in 1913, but it was expected that work would shortly be resumed.

Petroleum.—In 1914 a concession for the exploitation of petroleum deposits near Salonika was transferred from the control of the Turkish Civil List to that of the Greek State, but no details are available.

(b) Output

The only mines with a large output are those at Allchar and in the Madenochoria and Khassia regions of Khalkidike. Since 1890 the Allchar mines have been worked by the firm of Allatini Bros. At first the principal product was antimony, and in 1900, 72,723 tons of ore were treated. Of late, however, the arsenical ores, orpiment and realgar, have become the chief

product. Lorandite and other earths containing the newly-discovered element thallium have been found in the mines, which are also said to contain sulphur, iron pyrites, and gypsum ; but it has not been possible to ascertain whether any minerals besides antimony and arsenic are worked.

The mines of the Khalkidike peninsula are worked by the Société Ottomane des Mines de Kassandra, which is controlled by the Allatini-Misrachi-Salem group of Salonika Jews (cf. p. 80). The centre of the Madenochoria field is Izvor, in the neighbourhood of which iron pyrites and magnesite are worked, and also, though to a lesser extent, antimony, silver lead, and brown coal. In the Khassia districts the principal centres are Polygyros, Ormilias, Yerakino, and Molivopyrgos. The chief minerals produced here are antimony, chrome, iron pyrites, magnesite, manganese, and silver lead. The Kassandra Company has also worked chrome, and, it is stated, iron pyrites and manganese in the district of Paliouri, near the end of the Kassandra peninsula.

It is extremely difficult to obtain satisfactory information as to the working of the mines of Macedonia. In the first place, many concessions lead to nothing. Further, the output of the several minerals, especially chrome and manganese, varies greatly from year to year. This is due partly to the fluctuations of the European market and partly to the presence of a number of different minerals in certain small areas such as Allchar and Khalkidike, which makes it easy for exploiting companies to transfer their attention from a mineral which has ceased to be readily accessible to another which can be obtained at less expense. In consequence, statements as to what minerals are being worked in a particular area often hold good for only a few months.

Certain statistics are available respecting the export of minerals from Salonika. These are given below, but it must be remembered that part of the total output is consumed locally or exported by rail.

| <i>Chrome</i> | | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Tons.</i> | <i>Value.</i> £ | <i>Destination.</i> |
| 1907 | 4,900 | | |
| 1908 | 2,100 | 4,600 | France, Italy, Austria. |
| 1909 | 895 | 2,400 | |
| 1910 | 380 | 800 | |
| 1911 | 175 | | France, Austria. |
| 1913 | 80 | | Italy. |

| <i>Iron Pyrites</i> | | | |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------------|---|
| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Tons.</i> | <i>Value.</i> £ | <i>Destination.</i> |
| 1908 | | 54,500 | Germany, France. |
| 1909 | 120,789 | 41,600 | „ „ |
| 1910 | | 96,000 | Various. |
| 1911 | 106,500 | 68,000 | „ |
| 1913 | 130,000 | 80,000 | Germany, France, Austria, Italy, Russia. |

The output of the Izvor mines is shipped direct from the adjacent port of Stratoniki, but as the papers relating to the shipments go through Salonika, the figures are included in those for the latter port.

| <i>Magnesite</i> | | | |
|------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Tons.</i> | <i>Value.</i> £ | <i>Destination.</i> |
| 1908 | | 24,000 | Holland, Italy. |
| 1909 | | 18,400 | Austria, Germany. |
| 1910 | | 22,800 | France. |
| 1911 | 8,000 | 22,000 | |
| | calcined, 1,500 raw | | |
| 1913 | 9,200 | 25,800 | Holland, Austria, Germany. |
| | calcined, 230 raw | | |

| Year. | Tons. | <i>Manganese</i> | Destination |
|-------|------------------------------|------------------|-------------|
| | | Value. £ | |
| 1908 | | 12,160 | |
| 1909 | | 4,500 | France. |
| 1910 | | 12,320 | |
| 1911 | | No export | |
| 1913 | 300 (inferior quality) | | Italy. |

(c) *Methods of Extraction*

Modern machinery has been installed both at Allchar and at the mines of the Kassandra Company. The plant of the latter is worked by foreign engineers. At Stratoniki there are dynamos driven by steam-engines of 500 horse power; the power is used for working plant which dresses ore from the Izvor mines and for haulage on the railway connecting the mines and the port.

It may be mentioned here that under the Greek mining laws, gold, silver, salt, and emery mines belong to the State, and on other mines a royalty of 1 drachma per hectare and 6 per cent. of the value of the produce is imposed. Five per cent. of the annual net profit must be paid to the owner of the land on which the mines are situated.

(5) MANUFACTURES

It must be borne in mind that the 'factories' referred to below are in many cases very small concerns, which would hardly be dignified by the name in western Europe.

Flour.—The chief flour-milling centre is Karaferia, which has 26 mills. Salonika and Skoplye also have steam flour-mills.

Beer.—Salonika has two breweries, one old-established, the other new. In 1913 the first produced

upwards of 50,000 hectolitres, the second about 10,000. They supply a wide district.

Wines and Spirits.—These are made in many parts. Kavalla has spirit-stills; Karaferia has 11 wine and brandy factories; Niaousta, Vodena, Kavadar (Tik-vesh), and Skoplye make wine, and Salonika and Skoplye make *raki*, a native spirit.

Textiles.—The textile industry in Macedonia is but little developed. For the manufacture of cotton goods, raw cotton from Asia Minor is preferred to the home-grown product, and in 1910 about 2,000 tons of raw cotton were imported. There is no good reason, however, why cotton suitable for manufacture should not be widely grown in the country (see p. 61), and the abundance of water-power would facilitate a rapid expansion of the industry. Before the war there were 11 cotton mills. Of one, at Drama, no particulars can be given, but the following figures throw some light on the character of the rest:

| | No. | Employees. | h.p. | Output in tons. |
|-----------|-----|------------|------|--------------------|
| Salonika | 3 | 380 | 900 | 1,518 |
| Vodena | 2 | 280 | 900 | 870 |
| Niaousta | 3 | 310 | 750 | 803 |
| Karaferia | 2 | 200 | 420 | 446 |

The Vodena mills have 16,000 and 8,000 spindles respectively. It is worthy of note that all the cotton factories together do not employ as many men as are engaged in picking tobacco leaf at Kavalla.

Woollen goods are made of the better quality native wools. There are modern mills at Salonika and Niaousta. Cloth, much of it rough, is made at Karaferia, Gümenje, and Seres, and there appears to be some woollen manufacture at Vodena and Veles, but details of this are not available. Goat's hair goods are made at Veles.

Silk goods are manufactured only at Veles and

Gevgeli, where before the European War there was a prosperous silk-winding mill with modern plant.

Leather.—Tanning is an important industry in Macedonia. In Salonika there are 3 large and 15 small tanneries, which probably treat about 75,000 skins annually; 80 per cent. of these are imported, as well as the extracts for treating them. The products are only sold locally. Kozani has 24 small tanneries, which treat about 60,000 skins a year; they specialize in calf from Morocco, India, and Madagascar. Monastir, Voden, Niaousta, Drama, and Skoplye also have tanneries, and Niaousta prepares extracts for tanning. Leather goods are made at Salonika, where a large number of men are employed in making saddlery, harness, boots, and shoes.

Soap.—Soap-making is a rising industry in Macedonia. Salonika has 8 or 10 soap factories, for which considerable quantities of material are imported. Kavalla has five soap factories, and Skoplye two.

Hardware.—Two iron foundries exist at Salonika, and there is a horseshoe factory at Skoplye.

The remaining industrial concerns are of little note. They include brick-kilns at Salonika and Karaferia, tea factories at Salonika and Karaferia, saw-mills at Karaferia and Drama, several sesame oil factories at Drama and Karaferia, a rubber factory at Monastir, pottery works at Veles, and tallow-refineries at Krushevo. Charcoal-burning is carried on extensively at Niaousta, Gevgeli, and in the peninsula of Longos.

The production of fine silver filigree work is an important domestic industry which thrives especially at Skoplye.

(6) POWER

Before the European War electricity was little used in Macedonia. At Salonika the Société Ottomane

d'Électricité de Salonique et Smyrne had a generating station which supplied power for the local tramways and for electric lighting, which was becoming very popular in the town. Electric light was also introduced at Skoplye in 1912, and it was thought that the River Treska, some five miles from the town, might supply power for certain industrial undertakings that were then projected. There is no doubt that many of the rivers and streams of Macedonia might be used for generating electric power.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

(a) Principal Branches of Trade

The domestic trade of Macedonia is simple. The peasant sells his surplus produce to the agents of Salonika merchants, and buys manufactured goods or imported food-stuffs such as coffee, rice, sugar, and flour. The small tradesmen who supply his wants get most of their stock-in-trade from Salonika. Though some of the goods at present imported might be grown in the country or manufactured by local industries using native products, most of them could not be cultivated or made in Macedonia. The country, however, should be able to supply its own demand for flour, which is imported in large quantities (see p. 59).

(b) Towns, Markets, and Fairs

The disturbed condition of Macedonia in recent years has led to the abandonment of numerous markets and fairs that used to be regularly held. The principal fairs were those of Seres, Kozani, and Prilip; the last is still of some importance, but of late the others have only been held at irregular intervals. The revival of

the fairs after the restoration of peace and order would provide an excellent way of bringing the agents of foreign firms into closer relations with native producers.

The chief towns have already been mentioned in various connexions, and call for little further remark. Their trade is generally concerned with the products of the adjacent regions. A few, however, have wider commercial interests. Among these, apart from the ports, are Monastir and Skoplye, which are favoured by their position on several important routes. For a similar reason Kozani, in the south-west, although a small and mean town, is the centre of the trade of a wide district. The fair at Prilip also attracts traders from a considerable distance, some even coming from northern Albania.

(c) Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce

When Salonika was under Turkish rule, there was a local Chamber of Commerce, but after the Greek occupation of the town it was dissolved. Nothing appears to be known of any new commercial associations that may have been formed during the short period of peace. Mention, however, should be made of two organizations established at Salonika since the beginning of the Macedonian campaign. These are the Bureau Commercial, founded by the French, and the Direction Économique Militaire Serbe. The former, under the superintendence of Intendant Bonnier, seeks to collect information for the benefit of the French merchant, to discover suitable openings for the investment of French capital, and generally to further French economic interests. The object of the other organization is to safeguard the future of Serbian trade, and, in particular, to prevent any one Power from securing a dangerous predominance in Macedonian

industry and commerce. The existence of these two bodies—at any rate in their present form—has only been rendered possible by the abnormal conditions that have prevailed since 1915, but their influence on the future of Macedonia is likely to be great and permanent.

(d) Foreign Interests

Most of the important industrial and commercial enterprises in Macedonia are controlled by a group of Salonika Jews, in which the families of Allatini and Misrachi play a conspicuous part, though the greatest influence is probably exerted by E. Salem, who is held in extraordinary and deserved respect by the Jewish community. While it is true that most of the members of the group enjoy the protection of some foreign Power, neither they nor their undertakings can be regarded as foreign ; and in considering the economic prospects of Macedonia, it is necessary to bear in mind the power and activity of these native financiers and merchants.

There are, however, several notable concerns in which foreign interests predominate. Conspicuous among these are the railways from Salonika to Monastir, Zibevche, and Constantinople. As was mentioned above, the first two are controlled by the Banque des Chemins de fer Orientaux, and may therefore be regarded as German enterprises. The bank also attempted to secure control of the Compagnie du Chemin de fer Jonction Salonique-Constantinople ; in this, however, it failed, and French interests remained predominant in the direction of the railway. Several important concessions for public works or services were also granted to companies whose capital was mostly foreign. The French Bartissol-Robert group founded the Société Ottomane de Construction et d'Exploitation du Port de Salonique, and the Société Ottomane d'Électricité de

Salonique et Smyrne. The latter company, however, has fallen into the grip of the Union Ottomane de Zürich, a German syndicate interested in electrical undertakings, among whose directors are A. von Gwinner and Julius Frey. Another concern of public importance, the Compagnie Ottomane des Eaux de Salonique, appears to be chiefly under Belgian control. Among mercantile houses, the firm of Orosdi-Bach, which has a thriving import business, is mainly French in character, though German capital is also invested in it.

Turkish capital plays little part in Macedonia. In the middle of the nineteenth century a good deal of British money was invested in Macedonian mines, but the ill-success of the mining industry led to its withdrawal, and of late years there has been very little British capital in the country. It should be noted that the influence of France in the commercial life of Macedonia, though often exaggerated, is greater than would be inferred from a list of the companies with French capital or from the statistics of exports and imports. For many years the only shipping companies with regular services to Salonika were French; and a large proportion of the foreign trade of the country has always been carried in French bottoms. Moreover, many of the leading Jews of Salonika have been educated in France, and are disposed to sympathize with French ambitions in the East.

The extent and nature of foreign influence in future will depend largely on the character of the Balkan settlement at the end of the war. It is known that in 1914 the Austrians and Germans, particularly the former, had ambitious schemes on foot. An attempt by Austrian and German fish importers to organize the fish trade of Salonika had made some progress. It appears, too, from Austrian Consular Reports that an

effort was being made to turn the political division of Macedonia to the advantage of Austria by detaching Skoplye from its commercial dependence on Salonika, with a view to securing new markets for Austrian goods. The military situation from 1915 to 1918 of course gave Austria a free hand to carry out this policy.

(2) FOREIGN

The following section contains a short review of the foreign trade of Macedonia in the years 1910 and 1911, when, notwithstanding the outbreak of war between Turkey and Italy, it was comparatively little affected by domestic or international strife. References to 1909 and 1912 are occasionally made, but the figures for these years are not in general valuable for illustration, as in the former Macedonia was still much disturbed by revolutionary excitement, while in the latter the Balkan War broke out and the country became the field of large military operations. The period of peace which followed the Treaty of Bucarest was too short to afford satisfactory evidence regarding the effect of the partition of Macedonia on its trade.

It must of course be borne in mind that before 1912 the trade of Macedonia was carried on under conditions which no longer exist, and in all probability will never be restored. For example, Macedonia then formed part of one sovereign state, the commerce of the country was subject to a single authority, and the same customs tariff was in force on all its frontiers. Further, there was a very close commercial connexion between Macedonia and Constantinople, and many goods from western Europe were sent to Salonika *via* the Ottoman capital—a system which will certainly be largely, if not altogether, abandoned. In view of such facts, it is evident that the nature of Macedonian trade before the

Balkan Wars affords a very imperfect indication of its probable development after the conclusion of peace.

The value of an account of the trade of Macedonia during the period in question is also impaired by the defects of the available statistics. For the most part, the figures quoted below are taken from British Consular Reports; but, while these are of great service, the Turkish Customs Returns for 1910-11, which were very carefully compiled, show that they stand in need of revision. The usefulness of the Turkish returns, on the other hand, is restricted by their omission of statistics of the important tobacco trade and of the considerable commerce between Macedonia and other parts of the Turkish Empire. On the whole, therefore, the British Consular Reports give a better impression of the character of Macedonian trade.

But whatever statistics be taken, an account of the foreign trade of Macedonia inevitably resolves itself into an account of the foreign trade of Salonika and Kavalla. There is a certain amount of traffic across the land frontiers of Macedonia, but there seems to be no means of ascertaining its volume with any approach to exactness. Lists of the exports and imports of Skoplye and Monastir, which appear in Consular reports, British and other, invariably comprise many goods which pass through Salonika, and are also included in the returns for that town. An examination of figures from various sources leads to the conclusion that in 1910 well over 80 per cent. of the exports and about 90 per cent. of the imports of Macedonia passed through Salonika or Kavalla.

(a) *Exports*

Quantities and Values.—In 1910, so far as can be gathered from imperfect statistics, the goods exported from Macedonia as a whole were valued at about

£3,700,000. Of this total, exports from Salonika accounted for about £1,500,000, those from Kavalla for about £1,700,000, and those from the rest of Macedonia for the balance of over £500,000. For 1911 the statistics are still less satisfactory, but as it appears that the export of tobacco increased greatly, and that trade in other goods was on the whole rather better than in 1910, the total exports of the country were, probably worth upwards of £4,500,000.

Particulars regarding the chief branches of the export trade are given in the Appendix, Tables I and II. As agriculture is the chief industry of the country, the quantities of the several commodities exported varied greatly from year to year according to the state of the crops. The exports of tobacco were of course by far the greatest; the value of the tobacco shipped from Salonika and Kavalla was in 1910 almost £2,000,000, in 1911, £2,800,000, and in 1912 over £3,000,000. Next in importance came silk-worm cocoons, opium, and skins, but in comparison with tobacco these were of small account, though the trade in each should be capable of great expansion. When there was a good harvest the following winter generally saw a considerable export of flour and grain, principally maize, barley, and oats. Among minerals, iron pyrites stood first, but, as was explained above (p. 73), the mineral output of the country was very variable. .

Countries of Destination.—Precise figures as to the destinations of the exports cannot be given. It appears, however, that in 1911 Austria-Hungary took about half the tobacco, the United States rather more than a quarter, and Italy about a twelfth. The opium went to the United States, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and the Far East. Italy was by far the most considerable purchaser of silk-cocoons. The United States used to buy most of the goat-skins, but other

skins went mainly to Germany and Austria-Hungary. Flour and bran were sent almost exclusively to Turkey. Germany was apparently the chief purchaser of Macedonian grain, but a good deal also came to the United Kingdom. The destinations of the minerals exported were, shown on p. 74.

As a purchaser of Macedonian products Great Britain has hitherto cut a poor figure. The following table shows the values of the principal exports from Salonika to the United Kingdom in 1910 and 1911 :

| | 1910 | 1911 |
|-------------------|---------|--------|
| | £ | £ |
| Grain | 30,720 | 39,000 |
| Opium | 142,900 | 80,000 |
| Tobacco | 1,800 | 1,820 |

As the opium was nearly all in transit for the United States, the shipments from Salonika to a British destination were quite insignificant. As regards Kavalla, out of a total of 12,000,000 kg. of tobacco shipped in 1911, only 475,000 kg. were destined for the United Kingdom.

(b) Imports

Quantities and Values.—In 1910, according to the British Consular Report, the imports of Salonika were valued at about £4,641,000, and those of Kavalla at about £499,000, a total of £5,140,000. The goods imported across the land frontiers of Macedonia were, at a rough computation, of the value of rather more than £500,000. In 1911 the figures for the two ports were respectively £4,663,000 and £463,000. The import trade of Salonika fell off considerably in 1912, if the Austrian Consular Report is justified in estimating its value at £3,600,000, but the decline would be amply explained by the Balkan War.

In the Appendix, Tables III and IV, will be found details regarding the principal commodities imported at Salonika. Among these manufactured cotton goods held the first place, and were imported to the value of over £600,000 in both 1910 and 1911. Next among imported manufactures stood woollen goods, valued at £279,000 in 1910 and £290,000 in 1911. Chemicals, ironware, machinery, and metals also entered the country in large quantities. Among non-manufactured goods, petroleum and other oils, valued at £376,000 in 1910 and £326,000 in 1911, were especially conspicuous; while wood, leather, and skins were likewise imported on a large scale. The list of food imports was headed by grain and flour, with a value in 1910 of £431,000, and in 1911 of £541,000, but the demand for these fluctuated greatly according to the fortunes of the Macedonian harvest. There was a large import of sugar, valued at £286,000 in 1910 and £403,000 in 1911, while coffee and rice also came from abroad in considerable quantities.

The imports of Kavalla resemble those of Salonika in character. In 1910 and 1911 textile goods were the most important, being valued at £78,000 and £76,000. Flour stood next in point of value, the imports being worth £57,000 in 1910 and £70,000 in 1911.

Countries of Origin.—The tables in the Appendix show that in 1910 and 1911 Austria-Hungary and the United Kingdom were in close rivalry for the first place among the countries shipping goods to Salonika. It must be noted, however, that Austria-Hungary also sent goods to Salonika overland, and if these were taken into account, she would doubtless be found to hold the lead in each year by a considerable margin. In 1912, according to the report of her own consul at Salonika, Austria was easily first, supplying 23 per cent. of the sea-borne imports of that town, while the contribution of the United Kingdom was only 17 per cent.

Germany consistently stood third, though her share of the trade in 1912 (13 per cent.) was relatively greater than in either of the two previous years. France held the fourth place, with a percentage in 1912 of 12·7.

The imports from the United Kingdom consisted mainly of cotton and woollen goods and machinery. In the cotton trade Great Britain held a commanding position: in 1910 she supplied 48 per cent. of the imports, while Italy, her most serious competitor, contributed only 21 per cent., and Germany only 13 per cent. British supremacy was least secure in the trade in cotton-prints; and it is also disquieting to notice that, whereas from 1909 to 1911 cotton imports from Great Britain increased but little, those from Germany rose in value from £57,000 to £99,000, and those from Italy would probably have made a similar advance but for her war with Turkey. In regard to woollen goods, the position of the United Kingdom was much less favourable. Her exports to Macedonia fell in value from £100,000 in 1909 to £84,000 in 1911, while those of Germany rose in value from £76,000 to £91,000, with the result that in 1911 Germany held the first place in this branch of trade. The Austrian trade with Salonika in woollens, though comparatively small, was also steadily growing.

As regards machinery, imports from the United Kingdom increased remarkably in 1911, when they reached the value of £116,000, as compared with £40,000 in 1909 and £17,000 in 1910. Imports from Germany for the three years were valued at £30,000, £20,000, and £32,000 respectively.

Two commodities for which Macedonia was largely dependent on the United Kingdom were coal and jute. More than half the coal imported into Salonika in 1910 and 1911 came from Great Britain, though the mines of Heraclea in Asia Minor offered formidable com-

petition. Two-thirds of the imports of jute and jute goods were supplied by the United Kingdom, but in this trade Austrian rivalry was increasingly felt. In the rice trade, on the other hand, though Austria's share was not inconsiderable, the supremacy of India and Burma was still secure.

Although Austria's imports into Macedonia exceeded those of any other state, there were few branches of trade in which she held the first place. Her leading position, in fact, was mainly due to her share in the imports of sugar, which was valued in 1909 at £116,000 out of a total of £230,000 ; in 1910, at £194,000 out of a total of £286,000 ; and in 1911, at £324,000 out of a total of £403,000. Austria was also the chief source of the paper, glass, and ready-made clothing imported into Macedonia. In the textile trade, though her part was small, she was making steady progress.

Germany's trade with Macedonia was growing in certain important branches, though its general advance was less rapid than might have been expected from her commercial triumphs in other parts of the Near East. Germany was the principal source of the imports of chemicals, ironware, and metals. Her exports of chemicals to Salonika, however, declined remarkably in the years immediately preceding the Balkan Wars ; this was due partly to a shrinkage of the Macedonian demand for such goods, but also to increasing competition from Austria. Large quantities of leather were imported from Germany, but in this trade her lead was disputed by Belgium. The position of Germany in the textile trade has been already described.

The imports from France included a great variety of goods, but she held the lead in respect of no important commodity. She sent a good deal of oil to Salonika, contributed about 10 per cent. of the ironware imported, and supplied most of the perfumes and essences.

Italy, besides selling cotton goods to Macedonia in considerable quantities, was the chief source of the flour imported in 1910 and 1911.

The principal commodities which came to Salonika from other parts of the Turkish Empire were wood, coal, carpets, skins, soap, and oil.

Among other sources of the imports of Salonika may be mentioned Russia, which contributed petroleum and sugar; Rumania, which sent petroleum, grain, and flour; Bulgaria and Serbia, which also supplied grain and flour; Brazil, which grew practically all the coffee used in Macedonia; and the United States, which shipped to Macedonia much mineral oil, but little else.

The imports of Kavalla came mostly from Turkey and Austria-Hungary, but precise figures are not available.

(c) *Transit Trade*

The future prosperity of Salonika depends not only on the foreign trade of Macedonia, but also on the development of the transit trade to and from the old territories of Serbia and the regions beyond. Even the Turks understood this; and when Serbia, owing to the outbreak in 1906 of a tariff war with Austria, began to seek new outlets for her produce, the Turkish Government granted her important concessions at Salonika. Serbia was allowed to hold part of the harbour on lease, and it was agreed that her exports and imports might pass through the port free of duty. The Serbians, for their part, strove to turn these privileges to full account, and spent large sums on the erection of warehouses and cattle-pens; but Turkish mismanagement, the high wages demanded by the dock-hands, a series of poor harvests, and the conclusion of economic peace with Austria in 1910, conspired against the develop-

ment of the trade, and, after showing some promise for a time, it steadily declined. The following table shows the numbers of the lives-tock and the weights of the cereals exported from Serbia through Salonika in the years 1909-12. No other goods were sent by this route in large quantities :

| | | <i>Live-stock (head).</i> | <i>Cereals (tons).</i> |
|------|---|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1909 | . | 63,747 | 27,209 |
| 1910 | . | 54,271 | 33,059 |
| 1911 | . | 28,056 | 15,539 |
| 1912 | . | 9,404 | 15,290 |

Imports into Serbia through Salonika seem never to have been large. In 1911 they amounted in weight to 4,554 tons. Included in this total were cotton goods of the value of £106,000, and woollens of the value of £78,000. In 1912 the total weight of the imports was 6,091 tons, the increase being due to large purchases of military material from France.

After the Balkan Wars a treaty between Serbia and Greece renewed and increased the privileges granted by Turkey. There was also, it seems, some official discussion regarding the enlargement of the 'free zone', as the Serbian property at the harbour was somewhat grandiloquently styled, and the grant of still further concessions to goods in transit, with a view to attracting trade from the countries bordering on Serbia, which hitherto have made very little use of Salonika as an outlet for their exports. Nothing of any moment, however, seems to have been settled before the outbreak of the European War; and on the conclusion of peace the question will have to be considered afresh. It is of vital importance to the town, for it is only by the development of her transit trade that Salonika can achieve the commercial eminence to which her geographical situation entitles her.

(D) FINANCE

(1) *Public Finance*

Both Greece and Serbia looked to the resources of Macedonia for aid in easing their financial difficulties, but neither had time to give effect to any systematic policy. The general intentions of M. Venizelos, however, were indicated in an article entitled 'Les Finances de la Grèce', by Prof. Andréadès, which appeared in the *Journal des Économistes* in 1915. It was there stated that, notwithstanding adverse conditions, the revenues of Greek Macedonia had increased by 62 per cent. in the previous five years, and were estimated in 1915 at £3,800,000. The customs revenues of Salonika and Kavalla, it appears, were to be set aside as a sinking fund for part of the debt incurred by the Balkan War ; but M. Venizelos was opposed to any large increase of the import duties, and indeed favoured a progressive diminution of taxes on necessities, especially food-stuffs and clothes. It was hoped that the cultivation of tobacco would be much extended, as tobacco of good quality could easily bear a heavy export duty which would yield a substantial sum to the revenues of the State.

(2) *Currency*

After the Balkan Wars, Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria each introduced their own currency into the parts of Macedonia allotted to them.

(3) *Banking*

In recent times the most influential bank in Macedonia has been the Banque de Salonique, founded as a Turkish Société Anonyme in 1888. The Allatini-Misrachi-Salem group of Salonika Jews play an important part in the control of its affairs, but Austrian

interests are powerfully represented in its directorate, and, though there is also a French element on the board, it is probable that the bank has rendered great assistance to the commercial designs of Austria in the Near East.

The bank has been very successful. Its capital, which was originally £80,000, was gradually increased until in 1909 it reached £800,000, and its dividends have steadily risen from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. The bank's head-quarters are at Constantinople, and while it has branches at some of the Asiatic ports of the Ottoman Empire the lost European provinces of Turkey have always been the principal field of its operations. Although under its statutes it possesses the fullest powers, it has, as a rule, limited itself to industrial and commercial transactions. It is interested in several of the most important public works at Salonika.

The other banks with branches at Salonika are the Banque Nationale de Grèce, the Banque d'Athènes, the Banque d'Orient, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, and the Ungarische Bank und Handels-Aktiengesellschaft.

The Banque Nationale de Grèce, founded in 1841, has a capital of £800,000. Its head-quarters are at Athens. The activities of the bank are very wide, and apart from banking business in the narrow sense, it engages in industrial and commercial transactions on the lines made familiar by the German banks in the East. After the Balkan Wars a special branch was opened at Salonika with the object, among others, of lending to Macedonian farmers on mortgage or on the security of prospective crops.

The Banque d'Athènes, established in 1894, has a capital of £2,400,000. It is a Greek bank under French influence and direction, with a number of branches in Greece and the Greek islands, a few in Turkey and

Egypt, but only two in Macedonia—at Salonika and Kavalla. Its activities are confined to banking in the strict sense.

The Banque d'Orient, established in 1904, has a capital of £1,000,000. Its head-quarters are at Athens. It is closely connected with the Banque Nationale de Grèce, and conducts commercial operations as well as ordinary banking business. It has branches or agencies at various places in Egypt, Turkey, and the Archipelago; and in Macedonia, besides its branch at Salonika, it has agencies at Seres and Monastir.

The Imperial Ottoman Bank had branches at several towns in Macedonia, but in 1914 their affairs were being wound up. For particulars of this bank, see *Turkey in Europe*, No. 16 in this series.

The Ungarische Bank und Handels-Aktiengesellschaft is an Austro-Hungarian undertaking, with its head-quarters at Budapest. It had a branch at Salonika.

In Serbian Macedonia little banking has been done. The Bank de Salonique and the Banque Franco-Serbe each have branches at Skoplye and Monastir. An account of the origin and character of the Banque Franco-Serbe appears in *Serbia*, No. 20 in this series. In 1915 the Agricultural Bank of Serbia was also established in Serbian Macedonia.

APPENDIX

TABLE I. PRINCIPAL EXPORTS FROM THE PORT OF SALONIKA IN THE YEARS 1910-12

| | 1910 £ | 1911 £ | 1912 £ | <i>Principal Destinations in 1911.</i> |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------------|---|
| Barley . . . | — | 54,000 | 50,823 | Belgium, United Kingdom, Germany. |
| Cocoons . . . | 213,500 | 300,000 | no complete figures | Italy. |
| Eggs . . . | 24,000 | 24,000 | — | Greece, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary. |
| Flour, bran . . | 140,400 | 192,800 | 57,200 | Turkey, Germany. |
| Maize . . . | 61,810 | 35,500 | 178,500 | Germany, United Kingdom. |
| Magnesite . . | 22,800 | 22,000 | — | Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Austria. |
| Oats . . . | 43,560 | 41,605 | 18,720 | United Kingdom, Germany. |
| Opium . . . | 165,000 | 76,000 | 300,000 | U.S.A., Germany, Far East. |
| Red pepper . . | 50,000 | 37,500 | 12,000 | Bulgaria, Rumania. |
| Poppy seed . . | 60,000 | none | 68,000 | (1910) Germany, France. |
| Iron pyrites . . | 96,000 | 68,000 | — | Germany, France. |
| Skins . . . | 110,455 | 153,320 | 160,000 | Germany, U.S.A., Austria- Hungary, France. |
| Tobacco . . . | 320,000 | 400,000 | 672,000 | Austria-Hungary, Italy, U.S.A. |

TABLE II. DESTINATIONS OF TOBACCO EXPORTS FROM KAVALLA IN THE YEAR 1911

| | <i>Metric Tons.</i> |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Austria-Hungary | 6,007 |
| United States | 3,494 |
| Italy | 1,008 |
| Egypt | 569 |
| United Kingdom | 475 |
| Germany | 203 |
| Malta | 138 |
| Other countries | 306 |
| Total | 12,200 (Value £2,440,000) |
| Total in 1910 | 9,300 (Value £1,674,000) |

TABLE III. TOTAL IMPORTS INTO THE PORT
OF SALONIKA IN THE YEARS 1910-11

| <i>Country of Origin.</i> | 1910 £ | 1911 £ |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Austria-Hungary | 900,000 | 975,200 |
| Belgium | 126,660 | 140,000 |
| Brazil | 76,000 | 96,800 |
| Bulgaria | 105,400 | 110,000 |
| France | 373,892 | 350,000 |
| Germany | 530,578 | 492,363 |
| Greece | 41,280 | 55,000 |
| India and Burma | 126,500 | 140,000 |
| Italy | 358,400 | 179,200 |
| Netherlands | 33,836 | 36,000 |
| Rumania | 158,500 | 170,000 |
| Russia | 254,400 | 265,000 |
| Serbia | 78,120 | 85,000 |
| Spain | 21,000 | 3,268 |
| Sweden | 3,800 | 7,500 |
| Switzerland | 11,500 | 15,000 |
| Turkish Empire | 367,475 | 350,000 |
| United Kingdom | 886,960 | 992,774 |
| United States | 187,000 | 200,000 |
| Total | 4,641,301 | 4,663,105 |

TABLE IV. VALUE AND ORIGIN OF PRINCIPAL
ARTICLES IMPORTED AT SALONIKA DURING THE
YEARS 1909-11

| <i>Beer, wines, and spirits</i> | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | 1909 £ | 1910 £ | 1911 £ |
| Austria-Hungary | 2,200 | 4,480 | 9,600 |
| France | 4,300 | 3,600 | 4,000 |
| Germany | 2,000 | 1,460 | 1,590 |
| Greece | 2,000 | 2,000 | 2,210 |
| Italy | 8,300 | 9,800 | 6,000 |
| Russia | 29,200 | 30,000 | 35,000 |
| Other countries | 500 | 794 | 1,600 |
| | 48,500 | 52,134 | 60,000 |
| <i>Cereals</i> | | | |
| | 1909 £ | 1910 £ | 1911 £ |
| Bulgaria | 1,000 | 29,200 | 14,700 |
| Serbia | 92,000 | 73,400 | 64,000 |
| Rumania | — | 28,200 | 60,000 |
| Other countries | 68,000 | — | 50,500 |
| | 161,000 | 130,800 | 189,200 |

Chemicals, drugs, and dyes

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria-Hungary | 5,800 | 43,120 | 48,000 |
| Belgium | 10,000 | 8,220 | 10,250 |
| Germany | 236,800 | 171,000 | 85,000 |
| Italy | 5,300 | 14,685 | 12,000 |
| United Kingdom | 23,200 | 16,876 | 20,000 |
| Other countries | 6,700 | 6,400 | 6,750 |
| | 287,800 | 260,301 | 182,000 |

Clothes (ready-made)

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|---------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria-Hungary | 26,900 | 30,850 | 26,000 |
| France | 4,000 | 4,550 | 4,500 |
| Germany | 25,000 | 27,600 | 22,000 |
| | 55,900 | 63,000 | 52,500 |

Coal

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|--------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Germany | — | 26 | 2,000 |
| Turkey | 20,400 | 20,075 | 25,000 |
| United Kingdom | 14,000 | 22,163 | 30,000 |
| | 34,400 | 42,264 | 57,000 |

Coffee

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Brazil | 80,000 | 76,000 | 96,800 |

Cottons

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria-Hungary | 18,200 | 25,650 | 35,150 |
| Germany | 57,000 | 81,600 | 99,050 |
| Italy | 91,150 | 126,850 | 77,550 |
| United Kingdom | 278,200 | 293,150 | 296,350 |
| Other countries | 74,100 | 77,400 | 116,550 |
| | 518,650 | 604,650 | 624,650 |

Flour

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Bulgaria | 12,440 | 76,200 | 85,000 |
| France | 18,400 | 6,000 | 6,500 |
| Italy | 25,800 | 165,000 | 170,000 |
| Serbia | 4,400 | — | 3,500 |
| Rumania | 18,000 | 40,320 | 45,000 |
| Other countries | 22,800 | 13,587 | 42,000 |
| | 101,840 | 301,107 | 352,000 |

Glass and chinaware

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|---------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria-Hungary | 12,000 | 15,600 | 18,000 |
| Belgium | 1,000 | 6,800 | 1,000 |
| Germany | 14,000 | 5,324 | 8,070 |
| United Kingdom | 1,500 | 2,838 | 3,961 |
| Other countries | 3,180 | 1,232 | 1,669 |
| | 31,680 | 31,794 | 32,700 |

Ironware

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|--------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria-Hungary | 16,800 | 15,388 | 18,500 |
| Belgium | 5,500 | 6,396 | 8,000 |
| France | 17,000 | 22,523 | 20,000 |
| Germany | 80,000 | 97,121 | 88,000 |
| Italy | 9,500 | 7,236 | 6,000 |
| United Kingdom | 40,500 | 40,000 | 18,236 |
| Other countries | 10,000 | 15,000 | 18,964 |
| | 179,300 | 203,664 | 177,70 |

Jute and jute goods

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|---------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria-Hungary | 8,100 | 15,125 | 20,000 |
| United Kingdom | 42,200 | 48,220 | 47,000 |
| | 50,300 | 63,345 | 67,000 |

Leather and skins

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|---------------------------|--------|--------|---------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria-Hungary | 3,700 | 3,350 | 20,000 |
| Belgium | 28,000 | 28,800 | 40,000 |
| Germany | 19,200 | 28,240 | 50,000 |
| Turkey | 12,000 | 12,000 | 20,000 |
| United Kingdom | 6,000 | 8,200 | 17,393 |
| Other countries | 14,300 | 11,000 | 27,607 |
| | 83,200 | 91,590 | 175,000 |

Machinery

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|---------------------------|--------|--------|---------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Germany | 30,000 | 20,000 | 32,000 |
| United Kingdom | 40,000 | 17,580 | 116,079 |
| Other countries | 3,930 | 2,420 | 3,000 |
| | 73,930 | 40,000 | 151,079 |

| <i>Metals</i> | | | | | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---------|---------|---------|
| | | | | | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria-Hungary | . | . | . | . | 11,700 | 10,400 | 20,000 |
| Belgium | . | . | . | . | 36,000 | 23,254 | 25,000 |
| Germany | . | . | . | . | 18,200 | 33,800 | 60,000 |
| United Kingdom | . | . | . | . | 36,300 | 23,520 | 20,000 |
| Other countries | . | . | . | . | 11,800 | 7,850 | 7,000 |
| | | | | | 114,000 | 98,824 | 132,000 |
| <i>Oils</i> | | | | | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
| | | | | | £ | £ | £ |
| France | . | . | . | . | 36,200 | 56,108 | 41,838 |
| Turkey | . | . | . | . | 45,000 | 8,400 | 10,000 |
| United Kingdom | . | . | . | . | 56,700 | 32,694 | 38,162 |
| United States | . | . | . | . | 20,000 | 159,400 | 150,000 |
| Italy | . | . | . | . | 2,000 | — | — |
| | | | | | 159,900 | 256,602 | 240,000 |
| <i>Paper</i> | | | | | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
| | | | | | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria-Hungary | . | . | . | . | 16,000 | 40,720 | 35,000 |
| Germany | . | . | . | . | 14,190 | 6,446 | 785 |
| Other countries | . | . | . | . | 13,800 | 6,452 | 7,077 |
| | | | | | 43,990 | 53,618 | 42,862 |
| <i>Rice</i> | | | | | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
| | | | | | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria-Hungary | . | . | . | . | 22,000 | 14,400 | 20,000 |
| India and Burmah | . | . | . | . | 34,400 | 72,810 | 50,400 |
| Other countries | . | . | . | . | 7,600 | 8,790 | 4,000 |
| | | | | | 64,000 | 96,000 | 74,400 |
| <i>Sugar</i> | | | | | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
| | | | | | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria-Hungary | . | . | . | . | 116,000 | 194,000 | 324,000 |
| Russia | . | . | . | . | 80,000 | 92,000 | 79,000 |
| Other countries | . | . | . | . | 34,300 | — | — |
| | | | | | 230,300 | 286,000 | 403,000 |
| <i>Woollens</i> | | | | | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
| | | | | | £ | £ | £ |
| Austria-Hungary | . | . | . | . | 26,800 | 32,575 | 36,500 |
| Belgium | . | . | . | . | 16,500 | 17,000 | 22,000 |
| France | . | . | . | . | 33,000 | 29,500 | 31,800 |
| Germany | . | . | . | . | 76,500 | 82,500 | 91,000 |
| Italy | . | . | . | . | 9,000 | 10,000 | 10,000 |
| United Kingdom | . | . | . | . | 100,000 | 93,000 | 84,000 |
| Other countries | . | . | . | . | 14,200 | 14,700 | 15,500 |
| | | | | | 276,000 | 279,275 | 290,800 |

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

THE kingdom of Bulgaria lies between $40^{\circ} 40'$ and $44^{\circ} 5'$ north latitude and $22^{\circ} 10'$ and $28^{\circ} 5'$ east longitude, and forms a roughly oblong area between Rumania on the north, the Black Sea on the east, Turkey on the south-east, the Aegean Sea and Greece on the south, and Serbia on the west. Its frontiers were fixed by the Treaties of Bucarest and Constantinople, 1913. The boundary, from where it meets the Tunja river to the mouth of the Maritsa, was subsequently modified by a convention made between Bulgaria and Turkey in 1915, and later discussions also took place.

(2) SURFACE, COASTS, AND RIVER SYSTEMS

Surface

The area of Bulgaria is about 43,310 square miles, including all the new territory acquired in 1913 at the end of the Balkan Wars, but excluding the area, amounting to about 500 square miles, said to have been ceded to Bulgaria by the Convention of 1915. It occupies between one-fourth and one-fifth of the Balkan peninsula.

This area is traversed about the centre from west to east by the Balkans, parallel to which on the south run the Sredna Gora and the Srnena Gora; south and west

of the Sredna Gora are other ranges, including the Rila Planina and the Rhodope Mountains. To the north of the Balkans lies the tableland known as the Balkan Foreland. Between the Balkans and the Sredna Gora are the sub-Balkan valleys, and south and west of the Sredna Gora, between it and the south-western mountain group, is a region containing several important basins of depression. Thus, although to a large extent a mountainous country, Bulgaria has extensive areas of plateau, plain, and valley.

The Balkan Foreland rises at once to over 300 ft. above the Danube; it has an average height above sea-level of nearly 500 ft. and, rising gradually towards the south, reaches at the foot of the Balkans a height of about 1,470 ft. Its greatest depth, 74 miles, is between Silistra and the Kamchik river. Its superficial area is nearly 8,000 square miles. The Foreland is as a whole a gently undulating and fertile district, but rather dry, treeless, and bare; the greater part is now, however, arable land, growing maize and wheat.

South of the Foreland lie the Balkans, the highest points of which do not exceed 7,800 ft. The summits are rounded, the northern slopes generally well wooded, the southern more steep and bare. The Balkans start from the Timok and curve at first south-east, but run due east from Mount Baba in the central Balkans, and end abruptly with a 200-ft. cliff at the Black Sea. Their length is over 300 miles, their average breadth about 18 miles. They may be divided into three groups, the western, central, and eastern Balkans: the western Balkans extend from the Timok to the Isker gorge; between that gorge and the Demir Kapu pass are the central Balkans; from the Demir Kapu to the Black Sea are the eastern Balkans.

The sub-Balkan valleys, between the Balkans and the Sredna Gora, are all of the same character; having a

well-watered soil, rich alluvial deposits, and a mild climate, they are exceedingly fertile. The most important valleys are those in which are situated respectively the towns of Zlatitsa, Karlovo, Kazanlik, Tverditsa, and Slivno.

The Sredna Gora and Srnena Gora run south of the Balkans, from Radomir to Yamboli. They fall into three divisions: the Vitosha Planina, west of the upper Isker; the central Sredna Gora, between the Isker and the Stryama; and the Srnena Gora or Karaja Dagħ to the east. The greatest heights are found in the centre, where, nevertheless, the summits are rounded, the slopes very fertile, and magnificent woods alternate with rich pasture-land.

In the west a broken mass of hills separates Bulgaria from Serbia. This region, having an average height of about 3,250 ft., is traversed by the Struma valley, which provides a good route between Sofia and the Aegean. The basins of Gyueshevo and Kustendil are thickly populated and well cultivated. Other western Bulgarian plains are those of Pernik, Dupnitsa, and Nevrokop.

Between the valley of the Struma and the upper Maritsa extends the Rila Planina, with an average height of over 6,100 ft., while the Pirin Dagħ (8,794 ft.) separates the Struma from the Mesta. Farther east is the Rhodope range, from the highest summit of which, Mus Alla (9,631 ft.), flow both the Mesta and the Maritsa. The range stretches east-south-east, and between the northern foot-hills and the Sredna Gora lies the plain of the Maritsa.

The plains consist for the most part of isolated depressions, the most important being those of Sofia, Philippopolis, and Stara Zagora. The region falls into a small western part, containing a number of separate basins of which the largest is that of Sofia, and a large

eastern part, the so-called Eastern Rumelian plain, the two being divided by hilly country. The plain of Sofia is not large, being $46\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and 10 to $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles broad, but is deeply sunk among the mountains at an altitude of about 1,800 ft. This plain, watered by the Isker, is very fertile, and an important centre of communication. The Eastern Rumelian plain is for the most part well-watered and fertile alluvial land. Its western portion is traversed by the Maritsa from west to east nearer its southern than its northern border; through the central portion flows the Tunja; on the east streams flow into the Black Sea.

Coasts

The whole Aegean coast, between the Mesta and the Maritsa, is inhospitable. West of Mount Maroniya the two alluvial plains of Xanthi and Gumuljina extend between the mountains and the sea; both are unhealthy. Porto Lagos (Kara Agach) on the Buru lagoon, is the only roadstead on this portion of the coast. To the east lies Dedeagach, the principal Aegean port in Bulgaria, which is, however, shallow and unprotected.

The Black Sea coast is more hospitable than that of the Aegean. It possesses two important ports, Varna and Burgas. Bela, Missevriya (Mesemvria), Ahillo (Ankhialo), and Sozopol are possible landing-places. The low-lying parts of this coast are malarial.

River Systems

The river systems are four in number:—

1. The Danube, which for part of its course forms the northern frontier of Bulgaria, together with its tributaries;

2. The rivers flowing into the Black Sea, of which the most important is the Kamchik;

3. The Maritsa, which, with its tributaries the Arda and Tunja, waters the plain of Eastern Rumelia and flows into the Aegean Sea ;

4. The Struma and Mesta rivers, which drain the southern and western valleys of the western mountain group, and also flow into the Aegean.

The Danube for 244 miles divides Bulgaria from Rumania ; its breadth varies from 760 to about 2,400 yards. It has a seasonal rise and fall of 20 to 27 ft. It begins to rise in April, attains its highest level in June, and is at its lowest in the autumn. The Danube is frozen over about seventy-two winters out of a hundred, the ice lasting on an average 39 days.

(3) CLIMATE

A continental type of climate prevails over almost the whole of Bulgaria. The summers are hot, the winters cold ; and the rainfall, although distributed throughout the year, is heaviest in summer. There is a general tendency for cold winds to blow from the north during the winter months, but their effect is moderated by mountain ranges in Eastern Rumelia, while in other parts a series of cyclonic depressions, which make their way eastward along the Mediterranean belt of low pressure, frequently cause southerly winds to blow over the country. In summer a flow of air from the north-west over the eastern Mediterranean carries the temperature conditions of southern central Europe over the greater part of Bulgaria.

Winter temperatures are low, especially in regions most exposed to northerly winds. In the plains of Eastern Rumelia winter conditions are less severe.

Varna and Burgas on the Black Sea have a somewhat milder climate than places farther inland ; and along the Aegean coast the Mediterranean type of climate prevails, with mild wet winters and hot dry summers.

The mean temperature for the months of January and July at different stations in the kingdom are as follows :—

| | January ° F. | July ° F. |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------|
| Chepalare | 25·5 | 61·0 |
| Kustendil | 27·7 | 69·8 |
| Sofia | 26·4 | 68·0 |
| Gabrovo | 30·0 | 68·5 |
| Ruschuk | 28·0 | 72·0 |
| Burgas | 33·0 | 73·0 |
| Haskovo | 31·0 | 74·0 |

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

The peasants live in a condition of rough comfort. Their medical and sanitary arrangements are far from satisfactory, but they keep the interiors of their houses clean, and are personally cleanly. Some fever and malaria occur in the plains, and notably along the Aegean and Black Sea coasts.

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

Race.—The Bulgarians are to be regarded as mainly a fusion of Bulgars and Slavs. The country now known as Bulgaria was in ancient times inhabited by the Thraco-Illyrian race; this was expelled, or more probably absorbed, by Slavonic immigration, which took place on a great scale between the end of the third and the middle of the sixth century. The Bulgars were a tribe of the stock which we know as Turanian, Mongol, or Tatar, supposed to have come originally from eastern Asia, who established themselves, probably not in large numbers, between the Danube and the Balkans about A. D. 650. In the course of two centuries the Bulgars

became gradually merged in the Slavonic population, adopting its language, customs, and local institutions, but giving it their name and political organization. The Bulgarians were therefore a mixed race, into which a Turkish element was subsequently intruded, yet a race showing great cohesion, virility, and initiative. For five centuries (1393–1878) Bulgaria was ruled by the Turks, who converted to Islam the isolated communities now known as Pomaks. In 1861 some 12,000 Crimean Tatars and a still larger number of Circassians were settled by the Turkish Government on confiscated lands. In discriminating among the various elements making up the present population of Bulgaria it is difficult to discover any adequate criterion of race. Neither language nor religion affords an infallible test. Slavs, Bulgarians, and Turks are all round-headed, and undoubtedly much racial mingling has occurred. The Bulgarians probably constitute about 73 per cent. of the inhabitants, and are found in their purest type in the mountain districts, the Ottoman conquest and subsequent colonization having rendered the population of the plains more mixed. Nowhere does the Bulgarian show a pronounced Slavonic type; and in the central Balkans the Ugrian or Finnish cast of features occasionally asserts itself. The men are as a rule rather below middle height, compactly built, broad-shouldered, and (among the peasantry) very muscular. The Bulgarians possess to a remarkable degree the qualities of patience, perseverance, and capacity for laborious effort.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the majority of the population of the Eastern Rumelian plain was Turkish. The Turkish element has steadily declined, especially, as noted below, since 1879.

Language.—Bulgarian, which belongs to the Slavonic group of languages, was simplified in structure by the Turkish conquest. Unlike any other Slavonic tongue,

it supplements the loss of case-endings by prepositions. Its former richness survives only in the conjugation of the verb. It resembles Albanian and Rumanian in having the definite article placed after the substantive. As regards literature it is the poorest of the Slavonic tongues.

(6) POPULATION

No census has been taken since the institution of the present frontiers. According to that of 1910 the population of the kingdom was 4,337,516 (2,206,691 males and 2,130,825 females). This gave 116 inhabitants per square mile, divided among the districts as follows: Burgas, 351,500; Varna, 329,612; Vidin, 237,571; Vratsa, 312,460; Kustendil, 231,522; Philipopolis (Plovdiv), 447,309; Plevna, 365,868; Ruschuk, 406,309; Sofia, 481,598; Stara Zagora, 442,969; Trnovo, 448,197; Shumla, 282,601. The following particulars regarding nationality were also given in 1910: Bulgarians, 3,203,810; Turks, 488,010; Rumanians, 75,773; Greeks, 63,487; gipsies, 98,004; Jews, 37,663; Germans, 3,863; Russians, 3,275; other nationalities, 61,690. The capital, Sofia, had in 1910 a population of 102,812. In the same year the other principal towns had the following populations: Philipopolis, 47,981; Ruschuk, 36,255; Varna, 41,419; Shumla, 22,225; Slivno (Sliven), 50,598; Plevna, 23,049.

The estimated population of Bulgaria in 1914 was 4,759,997, giving 110 inhabitants per square mile. Of the new population added after the Treaty of Bucarest (1913) 227,598 were Bulgarians, 75,337 Pomaks, 275,498 Turks, and 58,709 Greeks. But, as a set-off against these gains, about 273,000 in the Dobruja passed to Rumania; of these about one-third were Bulgarians and one-third Turks or Moslems. The net gain, as

deduced from the 1910 and 1914 totals, is about 375,000.¹

With her rich soil and natural advantages Bulgaria could easily support a considerably larger population. Although the number of towns is relatively large (73), most of the inhabitants live in the rural districts.

The following are the birth and death rates per thousand for the years 1901 to 1911 :

| | 1901 | 1902 | 1903 | 1904 | 1905 | 1906 | 1907 | 1908 | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 |
|--------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Births | 37·5 | 38·8 | 41·0 | 42·4 | 43·5 | 44·0 | 43·6 | 40·4 | 40·6 | 41·3 | 42·8 |
| Still-births | 0·2 | 0·2 | 0·2 | 0·2 | 0·3 | 0·3 | 0·3 | 0·2 | 0·4 | 0·4 | 0·3 |
| Deaths | 23·1 | 23·8 | 22·7 | 21·2 | 21·8 | 22·3 | 22·3 | 24·3 | 26·6 | 23·4 | 21·7 |

Infant mortality is high, especially among the peasants.

¹ Compare, however, the slightly different estimates quoted on pp. 59 and 62.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| About A. D. 650. | Bulgars appear in Balkans. |
| 893-927. | Tsar Simeon : first Bulgarian Empire. |
| 1014. | Basil the Bulgar-slayer overthrows Tsar Samuel. |
| 1218-41. | Ivan Asen II : second Bulgarian Empire. |
| 1330. | Bulgarians defeated by Serbs at Kustendil. |
| 1393. | Trnovo taken by Turks. Bulgarian Patriarchate abolished. |
| March 10, 1870. | Bulgarian Exarchate instituted. |
| May 1876. | Bulgarian Insurrection and 'Atrocities'. |
| December 23, 1876 to January 20, 1877. | Constantinople Conference. |
| April 19, 1877. | Russo-Turkish War. |
| March 3, 1878. | Treaty of San Stefano. |
| July 13, 1878. | Treaty of Berlin. |
| April 28, 1879. | Prince Alexander elected. |
| July 13, 1881. | Suspension of Bulgarian Constitution. |
| September 18, 1883. | Restoration of Bulgarian Constitution. |
| September 18, 1885. | Union of Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria. |
| November 14, 1885. | Serbo-Bulgarian War. |
| March 3, 1886. | Peace Treaty signed. |
| April 5, 1886. | Prince Alexander appointed Governor-General of Eastern Rumelia. |
| August 21, 1886. | Abduction of Prince Alexander. |
| September 4, 1886. | Abdication of Prince Alexander. |
| July 7, 1887. | Election of Prince Ferdinand. Stamboloff in power. |
| 1893. | 'Internal Organization' for Macedonian Affairs. |

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| May 31, 1894. | Resignation of Stamboloff. |
| July 15, 1895. | Assassination of Stamboloff. |
| 1895. | Bulgarian Bands in Macedonia. |
| February 14, 1896. | Reception of Prince Boris into the Orthodox Church. |
| March 14, 1896. | Recognition of Prince Ferdinand by Turkey. |
| 1903. | Turkish Inspector-General appointed in Macedonia. |
| November 25, 1903. | Mürzsteg Programme of Macedonian reform. |
| 1905. | Customs union with Serbia. |
| 1908. | Young Turk Revolution. Austria annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina. |
| October 5, 1908. | Proclamation of Bulgarian Independence. Ferdinand declared Tsar. |
| 1909. | Bulgarian Independence recognized by Russia and the other Powers. |
| March 13, 1912. | Bulgaro-Serbian Treaty of Alliance. |
| May 29, 1912. | Greco-Bulgarian Treaty of Alliance. |
| October 17, 1912. | First Balkan War. |
| May 30, 1913. | Treaty of London. |
| July 1913. | Second Balkan War. |
| August 10, 1913. | Treaty of Bucarest. |
| September 29, 1913. | Turco-Bulgarian Treaty. |

(1) *Introductory*

THE original inhabitants of the country now known as Bulgaria were Thracians or Illyrians ; little is known of their origin or history, and they became tributaries of Rome about the dawn of the Christian era. But they were unable to withstand the successive inroads of barbarians who poured down from the north. Goths, Huns, and Slavs in turn dispossessed each other ; and the last-named were in turn overrun (probably about A.D. 650) by the Bulgarians, a people of Finnish or Tatar stock, who adopted the language of the conquered Slavs and have in process of time come to be regarded as a Slav people, though clearly of a very

mixed type, which often in certain districts indicates a Tatar origin.

Frequent wars ensued between Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire. In 809 the Bulgarian Prince Krum defeated the Greeks, and besieged Constantinople. After his death peace was preserved for a period of years, during which, through the preaching of the monks Cyril and Methodius, the Bulgarians, under Boris I, became converted to Christianity, about the year 860. After considerable hesitation between the Eastern and Western Churches Boris decided to adhere to the former. The Greek Patriarch's consent to recognize the Bulgarian Church as autocephalous, a concession which the Pope had refused to make, proved a decisive argument.

The first Bulgarian ruler who really made a name for himself was Simeon (893-927). He more than once defeated the Greeks and appeared at the gates of Constantinople; he also extended his dominions at the expense of the Croats, until his possessions extended from the Black Sea to the Adriatic and from the Danube to the Rhodope Mountains. He assumed the title of Tsar of the Bulgarians and Autocrat of the Greeks. But with his death in 927 his empire began to wane. The Greeks regained much of their lost territory; Serbia won back her independence; and Bulgaria, a prey to invasion and defeat, separated into two halves. The western of these was governed by Shishman, a noble from Trnovo, who usurped the royal dignity. Religious dissension helped on the disunion; the Bogomil heresy appeared at this time and gained many adherents. Russians and Pechenegs invaded the land on the east, and the aid of the Greeks was invoked against them. The assistance proved fatal. The warlike Emperor Leo Zimisces drove out the invaders but annexed the country; and the year 971

saw the fall of the empire of Simeon. But in the west the Shishman dynasty remained, and in glory and extent soon outstripped Simeon's achievements. In 976 Samuel, the fourth son of Shishman, succeeded to his father's dominions over the western or Macedonian regions of Bulgaria. When, after the death of Leo Zimisce, a revolt against Byzantium broke out in eastern Bulgaria, Samuel placed himself at its head, overran Thessaly, and extended his sway to the Adriatic. But he was defeated in successive wars by Basil II, known as Boulgaroktonos or Slayer of the Bulgarians; and in 1018 the whole of Bulgaria passed under the direct domination of Constantinople, which by its conquest of Serbia and Croatia became supreme throughout the Balkan peninsula.

From 1018 to 1186 Bulgaria was a dependency of the Greeks, who sought by every means to extinguish all national and patriotic sentiment among the Bulgarians; even the Church, while retaining a nominal independence, was ruled over by a Greek archbishop; and thus arose the Bulgarian hatred for everything Greek which has continued unabated to the present day. In 1186 a successful rebellion took place; and by the end of the twelfth century Kaloyan had established the second Bulgarian Empire, which included the greater part of the present Serbia and Bulgaria. The Pope recognized the new ruler as Emperor of the Bulgarians and Wallachians; and in 1204 Kaloyan was crowned at Trnovo by a cardinal.

It was in the days of Kaloyan's successor Ivan Asen that the Bulgarian Empire reached its highest point of glory. His dominions extended to the three seas, and included Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania; only Constantinople and its immediate environs remained to the Greek Emperor. Ivan's capital of

Trnovo almost vied with Constantinople ; he restored the full independence of the Bulgarian Church, admitting the supremacy neither of Rome nor of Constantinople, and restoring to its head the patriarchal dignity. But his death was the signal for the rapid dissolution of his empire. In less than a generation Greek authority was again paramount in the land ; the Venetians overran the coast districts ; and, by a series of murders, in 1257 the dynasty of the Asens became extinct.

In 1330 the Serbian king, Stephen Urosh III, defeated and routed the Bulgarians at Kustendil ; and thereafter Bulgaria lost her independence and became a tributary principality of Serbia. More than once she strove to throw off the yoke, even invoking the aid of the Turks, who were by that time established in the Balkan peninsula. On the death of the Bulgarian vassal Prince Ivan Alexander Shishman, his three sons divided his dominions among them, thus further weakening the country ; the death of King Dushan of Serbia merely substituted a Turkish for a Serbian overlord. The Bulgarian tsar who ruled at Trnovo became in 1366 a Turkish vassal ; in 1389 Serbia itself was incorporated in Turkey after the fatal battle of Kosovo ; and in 1393 Trnovo was taken by assault by the Turks. The very name of Bulgaria was lost for five centuries. Its fall was due to an entire lack of harmony between the ruling aristocracy and the peasant multitude. The corroding influence of Byzantinism sapped the vigour of the land and left behind nothing but a heritage of hate. Yet five centuries of Turkish domination could not extinguish the dormant national spirit of this stubborn race, which remembers with the tenacity of Eastern memory the short-lived glories of the past, when its adventurous and for a time successful rulers nominally extended their brief sway over the greater

part of the Balkan peninsula ; and the hope of regaining these conquests some day has never been abandoned by the Bulgarian people.

(2) *Bulgaria under the Turks*

Oppressed administratively by their Ottoman rulers and ecclesiastically enslaved by the Greeks, who imposed on them the Greek liturgy and a Greek priesthood, it is a marvel that the Bulgarians should have preserved their language and their strong sentiment of nationality. The Bulgarian monk Païssi, by his literary labours in the latter half of the eighteenth century, brought about something like a renaissance ; and the torch kindled by him was never allowed to suffer extinction. Exiles, voluntary or enforced, at Bucarest or elsewhere, gave freely of their best in substance, in literary labour, or in sacrifice of liberty or life, towards the national movement, which was at first directed to the educational and ecclesiastical enfranchisement of the nation from the Greek yoke. It is difficult to realize that until 1835 Bulgaria possessed no school in which the national language was taught. Such a state of things could not last ; the resentment against the Greeks rose to such a pitch that about 1860 the Bulgarians were almost ready to submit to Papal jurisdiction and to desert the Eastern Church for that of Rome. Russia came to their assistance, and eventually on March 10, 1870, the Sultan issued his firman establishing the Bulgarian autocephalous Church under a primate entitled the Exarch, whose residence was at Constantinople. The Greek Patriarchate declared the new Church schismatic (though its only point of difference was that of language), and has been its bitter opponent ever since. But gradually the new Church extended its influence and increased the number of its bishops, notably in Macedonia ; and its effect

on the political advancement of Bulgaria has been incalculable.

The national spirit, stimulated by this success, now began to turn hopefully towards the realization of its aspirations for independence. But, so late as 1875, the Bulgarians were merely one of the subject races of Turkey, spread throughout the north-east and the south and south-west of the Balkan peninsula. At intervals slight risings had taken place, when misgovernment and oppression were unusually intolerable. These movements were often instigated by emissaries from outside, in order to create a diversion when insurrections occurred in other parts of the Turkish Empire, such as Crete; they were easily suppressed by the Turks, who affected to treat them as outbursts of brigandage, devoid of all political character or significance. To the outer world the Bulgarians were practically unknown; and there were few travellers who had grasped the fact that in those regions there existed a race of Slav-speaking peasants, capable farmers and gardeners, woodsmen, cloth-workers and artisans, dour, egotistical, and unsympathetic in character, but laborious, painstaking, frugal, and pertinacious—in other words, endowed with many of the qualities which tend to success in life.

(3) *Crisis of 1875-7*

In 1875 Turkish misgovernment had brought about an extensive and well-organized insurrection of the Christian peasants in Bosnia and Herzegovina, then the most outlying provinces of Turkey, which threatened to set ablaze the whole of the Near East. In order to distract Turkey's attention from these border regions by fomenting disturbances nearer home, the Panslavist Committees of Odessa and the Bulgarian Revolutionary Organization at Bucarest had for some

time past been preparing the ground in Bulgaria ; and a number of ' Apostles of Liberty ', one of whom was Stamboloff, the future Prime Minister of liberated Bulgaria, traversed the country far and wide, terrifying the peasants with tidings of impending massacre, and urging them to organize themselves for purposes of defence. As a consequence, in September 1875, an abortive insurrection broke out at Eski Zagra (Stara Zagora); it failed completely, and its only result was to fill the prisons of Tatar-Pazarjik and Philippopolis with Bulgarian captives, suspected of being concerned in the rebellion. But the committees continued their propaganda still more zealously ; and early in May 1876 the premature outbreak of what was really a widespread and carefully planned rebellion in Bulgaria took the Porte entirely by surprise. The provincial authorities, at their wits' end, allowed the arming and employment of the local Moslems in order to resist the threatened attack of the Bulgarians. The insurgents, whose elaborate plans were nowhere followed by anything like effectual execution, were completely routed in a few days. Then ensued a series of acts of unrestrained violence against the unarmed population, which, on becoming known, filled Europe with horror and indignation.

The Powers, anxious to re-establish tranquillity and to prevent the extension of the disturbances, which now threatened to involve Serbia and Montenegro in war with Turkey, sought to induce the Porte to promulgate satisfactory reforms under European guarantees. Russia, Austria, and Germany took the lead, and on May 13, 1876, submitted to the other Powers a programme with that object, known as the Berlin Memorandum. England, though strongly condemning the outrages which had been committed, and repeatedly warning the Porte in the most impressive terms that no assistance could be expected from her,

was not at this time prepared to impose on Turkey conditions impairing her sovereignty and independence; she therefore refused her assent to the Berlin Memorandum. Accordingly, beyond giving promises of reform, Turkey did nothing.

In June Serbia and Montenegro declared war. The abdication and death of Sultan Abdul Aziz, followed three months later by the deposition of his successor Murad V and the accession of Abdul Hamid, brought about no improvement. In Russia a strong feeling of sympathy with the oppressed Christian Slav subjects of the Sultan overcame the evidently peaceful desires of the Government; and it became clear that Russian intervention would be inevitable unless Turkey set her house in order. Meanwhile, in England, Mr. Gladstone's stirring speeches on the Bulgarian atrocities tended to extinguish British sympathy for Turkey.

A conference at Constantinople was now suggested with a view to discussing the state of things in Turkey and deciding on the reforms to be imposed by Europe. Turkey was obliged to submit, and the Conference met shortly afterwards. Russia continued her military preparations, and made no secret of her fixed intention to use force, if persuasion failed to induce Turkey to grant adequate reforms, which should include real autonomy for the disturbed Christian provinces. Hereupon, in order to throw dust in the eyes of Europe and also to cut the ground from under the feet of the Conference by extending to the whole empire the privileges which it was sought to secure for certain provinces only, a liberal constitution was proclaimed in Turkey. Its existence was brief, and its promulgation may be said to have been a potent factor in bringing on the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, just as its restoration in 1908 led to still greater calamities for Turkey.

The reforms agreed upon by the European members of the Conference and submitted for acceptance by Turkey were as follows : That portion of Turkey later formed into the Principality of Bulgaria was to be divided into two vilayets, for each of which a Christian vali was to be named for five years, with the assent of the Powers ; provincial representation and local self-government were to be instituted ; a portion only of the local taxation was to be paid to the Porte, the remainder being retained for local requirements ; and a Christian militia was to be enrolled.

The only result of the Conference was the prolongation of the armistice to March 1, 1877. The Turkish delegates rejected nearly every proposal ; the suggested valis would be independent of the Porte ; the assignment to Turkey of a portion only of the revenues was practically a tribute ; the commission of control was strongly objected to. On January 15, 1877, a 'mitigated project' was presented by Lord Salisbury, but it was rejected as containing the obnoxious clauses relating to the International Commission and the nomination of valis with the previous assent of the Powers.

Russia now sought to urge the Powers to compel Turkey to give way ; and, after long negotiations, the document known as the Protocol of London was drawn up (March 31, 1877). It embodied the decisions of the Conference, called on the Porte to carry them out, and stated that, if Turkey failed to do so, the Powers would themselves take such measures as might be deemed necessary for ensuring the well-being of the Christians and the interests of peace. Turkey's answer, dated April 9, 1877, was an indignant rejection of the protocol. Half-hearted negotiations went on between the Powers, but on April 19 Prince Gorchakoff announced that, all means of bringing about the pacification of Turkey having failed, and the

Porte's rejection of the protocol having proved their futility, the Tsar had resolved to undertake alone the task which His Majesty had invited the Powers to carry out in concert, and had given to his armies the order to cross the frontiers of Turkey.

(4) *Russo-Turkish War*

On the outbreak of the war England, in common with the other Powers, issued a proclamation of neutrality, which was followed on May 6 by a note from Lord Derby to the Russian Ambassador in London. This document stated that, if the war should spread, British interests might be endangered; thus, the Suez Canal might be blocked or Egypt imperilled, neither of which events could be regarded without concern by England; further, Her Majesty's Government could not view with indifference Constantinople passing into other hands than those of its present possessors, nor did they desire that the regulations for the navigation of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles should be altered. There were, besides, other interests, e.g. on the Persian Gulf, which might require protection; but Her Majesty's Government would confine themselves to stating their hope that the war would be restricted within such limits as should leave those interests unassailed and enable British neutrality to be maintained. The note ended with a reminder of the pledges given by the Tsar to Lord A. Loftus not to acquire Constantinople or occupy Bulgaria otherwise than temporarily. This communication met with a favourable response. On May 30 Count Schuvaloff stated that Russia disclaimed all intention of injuring the British interests enumerated in Lord Derby's note, and that the Tsar would not extend the war beyond what was required to attain the object so clearly proclaimed.

On June 22 the Russians crossed the Danube, meeting at first with little or no opposition, owing to the faulty disposition of the Turkish armies, and the jealousy and incapacity displayed by most of their commanders. Much horror was excited by the manner in which the war was carried on ; each side accused the other of atrocious conduct, doubtless not without foundation. The Bulgarians, who followed in the wake of the Russians and had been supplied by them with arms, did undoubtedly wreak a terrible vengeance for the sufferings of their brethren.

In July the advance of Russia received a temporary check, both in Europe and in Asia. A considerable revulsion of feeling ensued in favour of the Turks ; and the valour displayed at the Shipka pass earned for them the admiration of the world. Elation took the place of despair at Constantinople ; and it began to be thought that Turkey would soon be in a position to impose terms on her enemy. These hopes were destined to be short-lived, and in November the balance of success turned against Turkey. Kars fell on November 22. On December 11 Osman Pasha's heroic defence of Plevna came to an end, and that fortress fell, thanks largely to the aid of Rumania given in response to Russia's pressing appeal. On December 14 Serbia declared war. The Russian advance towards Constantinople now became rapid and irresistible. After vain appeals for the mediation of the Powers, Turkey was obliged to address herself directly to Russia. But the Russian advance continued, and on January 20 Adrianople was reached by the invaders. On February 2 the bases of an armistice were agreed upon ; and a month later the definitive treaty of peace was concluded at San Stefano. It provided for the creation of a large autonomous Bulgaria, extending to the Aegean Sea, and comprising the greater

part of Macedonia and Thrace. Serbia and Montenegro received considerable accessions of territory, and were declared independent. Russia took Bessarabia, and in Asia the greater part of Eastern Armenia, and demanded a heavy war indemnity.

(5) *The Congress of Berlin*

A fortnight earlier the British fleet had been sent through the Dardanelles to Constantinople; and, before the signature of the treaty of peace, England had stated that the conditions, especially those affecting British interests, required the participation and assent of England. Similar views were expressed by the other Powers. Russia consented to take part in a Congress to be held at Berlin, to which the Treaty of San Stefano should be submitted for such alterations as should be found necessary. Before entering the Congress, England stated her objections to the Treaty of San Stefano. These were the dimensions of the new Bulgaria, and the disastrous effect of its creation on the non-Bulgarian elements within its boundaries; the compulsory alienation of Bessarabia from Rumania; the acquisition by Russia of Batum and the strongholds of Armenia; and the magnitude of the war indemnity demanded. Russia tried to explain away these objections, which were, however, for the most part sustained by the Congress. The chief results of the deliberations of the Powers, embodied in the Treaty of Berlin, signed on July 13, 1878, were as follows. There was a material reduction of the new principality of Bulgaria, nearly two-thirds of its area being restored to the direct rule of the Sultan; the portion south of the Balkans was constituted into a semi-autonomous province, for which the name of Eastern Rumelia was invented; the western or Macedonian part of the territory assigned at San

Stefano to Bulgaria remained Turkish. In this connexion it is to be borne in mind that, prior to 1878, the territory now formed into the Principality of Bulgaria, the province of Eastern Rumelia, and the Macedonian region relegated to Turkish rule had all been Turkish territory, indistinguishable in any way the one from the other, and differing only in the greater or less proportion borne to the total number of inhabitants by the Bulgarian population in any district. The division effected at Berlin was therefore arbitrary, and destined to be obliterated.

As the original cause of the war, Bulgaria received the honours of precedence in the Berlin Treaty, the first twelve articles of which deal with the new principality. Eastern Rumelia follows next. Art. XXV hands over Bosnia and Herzegovina to the administration of Austria; Montenegro, Serbia, and Rumania are formally declared independent, and receive rectifications of frontier—in the case of Rumania this consisted in the retrocession of Bessarabia to Russia, in return for the cession of the Dobruja. Kars, Ardahan, and Batum are ceded to Russia; provision is made for reforms in Crete and Macedonia (Art. XXIII) and Armenia (Art. LXI).

In pursuance of the treaty, elaborate constitutions were drawn up for Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, as well as a law for the government of the European provinces of Turkey. This law remained a dead letter; and the two constitutions were so liberal in character as to give rise to the suspicion that Russia, to whose inspiration they were mainly due, had purposely endowed the newly-created provinces with liberties unknown within her own territory in order to render their future government unworkable.

(6) *Union of Bulgaria with Eastern Rumelia*

The first Prince of Bulgaria was Prince Alexander of Battenberg. He was elected by the Bulgarian Assembly on April 28, 1879 ; on July 15 the Sultan assented to his election, which was subsequently agreed to by the Powers severally, as provided by the Treaty of Berlin. His appearance and personality were calculated to gain for him the esteem and affection of the people over whom he was called to rule, though he may have been less proficient in those arts of astute and far-seeing policy which distinguished his successor. Alexander's difficulties began almost on the first day of his reign. Russia had emancipated Bulgaria, and not unreasonably claimed to exercise considerable, if not supreme, control over her. The Prince's natural impulse was to respect the wishes of Russia, whose ruler had always shown him great kindness ; on the other hand, his Bulgarian advisers constantly urged him to maintain the independence of a country which has from the first jealously resented all foreign interference. Moreover, the ultra-liberal constitution hampered the Prince at every turn, and went far to make the government of the country impossible.

Prince Alexander attempted at first to govern with the aid of the Russian Ministers and of the Conservative party. This was soon found to be impracticable, and the Liberal party was called in to form a cabinet, with Russian co-operation. But, instead of improving, the situation became worse, chiefly on account of the domineering tone and conduct of the Russian ministers and officers. The government could not be carried on on constitutional lines ; and accordingly, with the consent of Russia, Prince Alexander prevailed upon the Grand Sobranye to suspend the constitution and to invest him for seven years with dictatorial powers ;

the vote was passed on July 13, 1881. But here again the change proved to be for the worse. The Russian generals Soboleff and Kaulbars, sent to undertake the duties of Ministers of War and of the Interior, drew all power to themselves and imposed their will on the Prince, whose appeals for support to Petersburg, where Alexander III had succeeded to his father's throne, but not to his friendly feelings towards Prince Alexander, were disregarded. Disdaining to remain the puppet of his Russian satraps, the Prince was driven to effect a reconciliation with the Liberal party; and on September 18, 1883, the constitution was restored. The Russian generals, seeing themselves stripped of their hitherto unrestrained authority, resigned and left the country, after an unsuccessful attempt to force the Prince to abdicate. From this time Prince Alexander had to reckon with the constant and determined opposition of Russia, which was not to cease until he was driven from the throne; from then also dates that struggle for emancipation from Russian control and interference which was so long and so ably conducted by Stamboloff.

In Eastern Rumelia a Bulgarian with the Turkish title of Pasha, Aleko Vogoridis, had been appointed the first governor-general. The militia in Rumelia was commanded by a motley collection of foreign officers; and the numerous and costly bureaucracy with which the autonomous province was burdened by its organic statute rendered financial embarrassment certain. From its creation various parties sought to bring about its union with Bulgaria; the point at issue was whether this should be achieved with or without Russian aid. In May 1884 Aleko Pasha was dismissed and was succeeded by Gavril Pasha Krestovich, who had been his secretary-general. The new governor-general was known to be in the Russian interest; and the opposi-

tion took advantage of this fact to work upon the population, already exasperated by the heavy taxation and by the arrogant bearing of the Russian officers and civilians, to declare the union with Bulgaria and get rid simultaneously of Russians and taxes. On September 18, 1885, by a bloodless revolution at Philippopolis, the union was proclaimed, without the knowledge of Prince Alexander and against the will of Russia. The Prince accepted the situation and thereby still further increased the enmity of Russia, who could not admit that the two Bulgarias should be united without her consent. Orders were sent at once to recall all Russian officers in the Bulgarian army, which thus remained without any officer above the rank of captain.

The union was the first open breach of the Berlin Treaty. Europe was unable to countenance it ; Turkey was indignant at the disregard of her sovereign rights ; Greece and Serbia saw with dismay their rivals, the Bulgarians, receive this aggrandizement and clamoured for compensation. England had by this time realized that a strong Bulgaria was the best barrier to Russian aggression in European Turkey, and stood practically alone in accepting the union. She had thus completely changed policies with Russia, whose designs for a large and powerful Bulgaria she had so effectually checked in 1878. The ability and energy of Sir W. White, the British representative at Constantinople, succeeded in defeating the proposals of Turkey and Russia that Turkish troops should be sent to restore the *status quo*. The Sultan himself was pacifically inclined, and withstood the warlike counsels of his ministers. A conference of Ambassadors accordingly met at Constantinople, and on April 5, 1886, concluded the Convention of Tophani, conferring on the Prince of Bulgaria the Governor-Generalship of Eastern Rûmelia.

(7) Serbo-Bulgarian War ; Abdication of Alexander

But, while these international negotiations were proceeding with wonted deliberation, events had been moving fast elsewhere. Serbia had taken advantage of the withdrawal of the Russian officers to make, on November 14, 1885, an unprovoked attack on Bulgaria. The rapidity with which the Principality mobilized its raw troops was equalled by the stubborn tenacity with which they withstood the Serbian onslaught. On November 18, at the battle of Slivnitsa, the Serbians were totally defeated ; and Prince Alexander was about to reap the fruits of his victory when Austria peremptorily forbade all further advance of the Bulgarian troops, threatening to use force if her request were disregarded. An armistice was accordingly concluded on December 21, 1885 ; and the definitive treaty, consisting of a single article, to the effect that peace was re-established between Bulgaria and Serbia, was signed on March 3, 1886. Meanwhile the turbulent public opinion of Greece could not be restrained ; the consolidation of Bulgaria into a compact Slav state of three million inhabitants seemed a death-blow to Hellenic aspirations. Meetings were held ; war-like decisions were adopted ; and the Government under popular pressure mobilized its troops. An international blockade became necessary to force Greece to accept the inevitable.

On April 24, 1886, the Imperial Firman investing Prince Alexander with the Governor-Generalship of Eastern Rumelia was promulgated ; in the country itself, however, the union at once became complete, and no distinction remained between the principality proper and the late autonomous province. It appeared as if an era of tranquillity were in store for the East. But Russian hostility had been too deeply roused to allow Prince Alexander to remain in Bulgaria. The fact that

he was in name Turkish Governor-General of Eastern Rumelia was made use of to impair his popularity; and advantage was taken of the wounded feelings of certain officers disappointed in the distribution of rewards after the war. By bribery and by other means some of the troops were induced to mutiny; the palace was surrounded on the night of August 21, 1886; and Prince Alexander was compelled to sign his abdication. He was then conveyed down the Danube to Russian territory, where he was set at liberty. Public opinion in Bulgaria, stirred by these events, brought about a counter-revolution. The Provisional Government formed by the conspirators was ejected, and a regency in Prince Alexander's name was instituted. On August 29 the Prince returned to Bulgaria amid the universal acclamations of the people. But his restoration was viewed in Russia with the deepest displeasure; in reply to a telegram which he addressed to the Tsar on arrival at Ruschuk he received a chilling answer deprecating his return. This circumstance, and the widespread disaffection prevailing in the army, led Prince Alexander to renew his abdication; and on September 7 he left the country for ever.

The indignation caused throughout almost all Europe was expressed by Lord Salisbury in a speech which described the Prince as having been dragged from his throne by the influence of foreign gold; but speeches, however sympathetic, could not outweigh Russian hostility. Russia now sent General Kaulbars to Bulgaria as Imperial Commissioner, with the ostensible mission of pacifying the country; his demeanour was, however, rather that of a provoker of disturbance. He refused to recognize the legality of the regency established after the Prince's departure; he demanded imperiously the release of all those implicated in the plot against Prince Alexander; and, after interfering

in an unwarrantable manner in the government of the country, he undertook an electioneering tour throughout Bulgaria with the object of influencing the elections for the Grand Sobranye convoked to choose the new Prince. Their choice fell on Prince Waldemar of Denmark, who, however, declined the offer. General Kaulbars continued to seek by every means in his power to bring about a disturbance, so as to furnish Russia with a pretext for armed intervention ; finally, after actually fomenting an unsuccessful outbreak at Burgas, he broke off relations and left Bulgaria, which remained for nearly ten years without an accredited representative of Russia. Germany assumed the protection of Russian interests.

(8) *Reign of Ferdinand ; Stamboloff in power*

The prospects of Bulgaria were at this time very gloomy. War and a Russian occupation seemed imminent. But for the pacific labours of the rulers of Great Britain and Germany, the anxious fears prevailing throughout 1887 and 1888 would have been realized, and the Austrian and Russian troops massed along the frontiers would have come into collision. Thanks to the loyal and strenuous support afforded by England and Austria to Stamboloff, Russia failed to carry out her designs against Bulgarian independence. With the support of the two Powers mentioned the national tenacity held firm. In July 1887 Prince Ferdinand intimated his readiness to accept the throne of Bulgaria ; on August 14, 1887, he was crowned Prince. His election, however, was not ratified by Turkey, nor did Russia assent ; and consequently his position was irregular and unrecognized.

The new Prince, who was the son of Prince Augustus of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha-Kohary, and of Princess Clémentine of Orleans, was at this time twenty-

six years of age. He had nominally served as an officer of Honveds, and his sympathies were naturally divided between Austria and France, while he was also credited with leanings towards Russia. By nature and training a student and dilettante rather than a soldier, he had an exalted idea of his personal dignity, and was endowed with great political craft and sagacity.

During the first years of his reign he had little opportunity of exercising his talents of statecraft beyond the limits of petty intrigue, as his masterful premier, Stamboloff, would brook no interference in politics. That statesman, who, though young in years, had, after being identified with the Bulgarian insurrectionary movements in Turkey, risen to the highest rank in the councils of his country, was firmly convinced that the independence of Bulgaria could be defended against Russian aggression only by maintaining good relations with Austria and Turkey. In this task he received the constant support of England; and if, in carrying out his policy, he was sometimes compelled by circumstances to act harshly or to overstep the bounds of the constitution, it must be remembered that the peril of Russian occupation was often imminent, and that the people were hardly fit for a thoroughly liberal constitution. During the first few years of Prince Ferdinand's reign constant vigilance was necessary to unmask and defeat the machinations of Russian emissaries as well as of resentful Macedonian patriots, disgusted with what they considered Stamboloff's desertion of the cause and his subservience to Turkey. But it is certain that that policy yielded better results than the system adopted later. By restraining the activity of the Macedonian insurrectionary bands it was possible to gain Turkey's favour and to obtain tangible benefits in return in the shape of *berats* for Bulgarian bishops in Macedonia and privileges for churches and schools.

Stamboloff was firm in the conviction that in this way, and by the pacific influence of the priest and the school-master, Bulgarian influence would eventually become paramount in Macedonia, and that that province would fall into the hands of Bulgaria 'like a ripe pear', to use his own expression, without striking a blow.

On April 20, 1893, Prince Ferdinand married Princess Marie-Louise of Parma, and by her (who died in 1899) he had two sons and two daughters. The Bulgarian constitution requires the children of the ruler to be brought up in the Orthodox faith. As both the Prince and his bride were Catholics and naturally desirous that their children should be of their parents' religion, it became necessary to induce the Sobranye to modify this clause in the constitution. This was the last service rendered to the Prince by Stamboloff, who thereby brought on himself all the odium attaching to what was a most unpopular measure. Shortly afterwards, owing to a quarrel with General Savoff, ex-Minister of War, Stamboloff resigned, on May 31, 1894. A year later he was assassinated in the streets of Sofia; and his assassins, though well known, were left practically unpunished.

(9) *Policy of Ferdinand ; Macedonian troubles*

Stamboloff's resignation enabled the Prince to exercise far greater power than before, especially in matters affecting foreign policy. The first result was a *rapprochement* with Russia, eagerly desired by the Prince so that his election might be at last recognized by the Powers, and that he might receive at home and abroad the honours to which he was entitled. The death of the Emperor Alexander III on November 1, 1894, made a reconciliation possible, but it became complete only when an agreement was arrived at for the reception of Prince Boris, the heir to the throne, into the Orthodox

Church. This had become necessary not only as a satisfaction to national desires but also because, having gained in importance through the increase of his political power after Stamboloff's death, the Prince had become more exposed to the danger of assassination, and it was necessary that a successor acceptable to the nation should be at hand. The baptismal ceremony took place early in 1896, in spite of the formal opposition of the Pope. Prince Ferdinand was thereupon recognized by Turkey as Prince of Bulgaria on March 14, 1896. The assent of the Powers followed soon after, and thus his status was at last regularized.

Stamboloff's anti-Russian policy had been supported by England and Austria, as stated, and latterly by Italy, in order to prevent the triumph of Pan-Slavism over the national and patriotic party; and, by timely action at Constantinople, these Powers were able to induce the Sultan to refrain from interfering with his vassal or from countenancing any intervention by Russia. But in the country itself the policy cannot be said to have been universally popular; and the reconciliation with Russia was undoubtedly hailed with relief, especially by the older generation, which was mostly Russophile at heart. Abroad, however, a revulsion of feeling took place; public opinion was shocked by Stamboloff's murder and by the tolerance displayed by the Government towards his assassins. Relations, especially with England, Austria, and Rumania, became less cordial; and the tendency was accentuated through the altered attitude of Bulgaria towards the Macedonian insurrectionary movement, which now met with connivance, if not with open encouragement.

Since 1880 no actual outbreak had occurred, but in 1893 the younger and more adventurous spirits among the Macedonian *intelligentsia*, despairing of ever

obtaining any results from the pacific methods advocated by Stamboloff, formed the 'Internal Organization', with the object of collecting funds, arms, &c., and of preparing for a rising at a suitable moment. The Armenian massacres of 1895 were made the occasion of a meeting at Sofia, at which sympathy was expressed with the victims and a resolution was passed demanding that whatever reforms were obtained for Armenia should be applied to Macedonia. As a result of this effervescence, several bands crossed the frontier and attacked and destroyed Turkish villages. Serious representations by the Powers checked the movement for the time being. But it must be remembered that, besides the moral considerations of national ambition and of sympathy for the sufferings of those so closely connected with her by race-affinity, Bulgaria was always liable to be affected practically and immediately by the direct pressure of the very numerous Bulgarians of Macedonian origin either permanently residing within her borders or periodically resorting thither in search of work, not to mention such as took refuge there to avoid arrest or escape persecution. Since the creation of the Principality these Macedonians, by their numbers and their superior intelligence, have constituted an element which it was impossible to disregard and which at times exercised a paramount influence.

The reconciliation with Russia led to an increase of that country's influence in Bulgaria, while Austrian prestige waned. Various cabinets succeeded one another, but the Prince, while leaving them a comparatively free hand in internal affairs, kept a close control over the foreign relations of the country. Meanwhile lavish expenditure on useful public works on the one hand and on military preparations on the other caused Bulgaria's frequent appearance as a borrower in the money market and resulted in the piling up of a considerable volume of debt.

With the neighbouring countries Bulgaria's relations could not be cordial. Greece had indeed made unsuccessful overtures in 1891 and again in 1897 for joint action against Turkey, the common foe; after the unfortunate campaign of 1897 her attitude towards Turkey changed. Both Greece and Serbia, whose original designs on Bosnia and Herzegovina had been thwarted by the Austrian occupation and who was consequently led to push her dormant aspirations in Macedonia, conducted in that province an active and lavish propaganda; and from 1896 onwards the various Comitadjis, or Committees, carried on a ruthless guerrilla warfare both against the Turks and against Christians of other denominations. Turkey, on the principle of *divide et impera*, did nothing to check the rivalries so violently displayed; while Russia (who did not desire that the Balkan question should be raised prematurely, having in 1897 come to an agreement with Austria for the maintenance of the *status quo*) regarded the encroachments of the Greeks and Serbians as a not undesirable check on the growing influence of Bulgaria. The depredations and excesses of the bands, and the violent measures of repression adopted from time to time when the disturbances became too flagrant to be overlooked, bore equally heavily on the distracted population and caused thousands of refugees to flee to Bulgaria. The Government, even if desirous of suppressing the criminal practices of the revolutionary committees, were powerless to do so in face of the popular sympathy. Moreover, in spite of the agreement of 1897, Russian unofficial incitements to Bulgaria to intervene in Macedonia were not wanting. However, the Russian Government made it clear that they were determined that the peace should not be disturbed, and that, if Bulgaria attempted to take action, she would do so at her own risk.

In order to bring about an improvement, Russia and Austria propounded, in 1903, a scheme of reforms for Macedonia, based in some measure on a plan recently put forward by Turkey. It provided for the appointment of a Turkish Inspector-General for the three Macedonian vilayets of Turkey, who could not be removed for three years save with the consent of the Powers; the reconstruction by foreign specialists of the *gendarmerie*, which was to be largely recruited from the Christian element; amnesty for political offenders; and the introduction of financial reforms. Under pressure from Russia, Bulgaria dissolved the Macedonian Committees, but the reform scheme was not extensive enough to satisfy her; and, a Stambolovist cabinet being at the time in power, an attempt in accordance with the traditions of the party was made to arrive at a direct understanding with the Turkish Government. The idea was not favoured by Russia, and was not realized, Turkey declaring herself bound to put the Austro-Russian scheme into execution.

The incursions and outrages continued meanwhile with undiminished violence, and the relations with Turkey grew steadily worse. At this juncture the British Government proposed plans of reform for Macedonia, to be executed under the control of the whole European concert and not of two of its members only. It was hoped thus to put an end to bloodshed and anarchy in that unhappy region. Deliberations between the Powers ensued, resulting in a fresh scheme formulated by Austria and Russia in October 1903 and known as the 'Mürzsteg scheme'. Its principal provisions were the nomination of an Austrian and a Russian Civil Agent, as assessors to Hilmi Pasha, the Inspector-General; the reorganization of the *gendarmerie* by foreign officers of each of the Powers, a district being assigned to each; the rearrangement of the administra-

tive areas on a racial basis ; judicial reform ; and financial aid to refugees and sufferers—in 1905 financial commissioners of the other Powers were added. The scheme met with some measure of approval, but in Bulgaria exception was taken to the vesting of the control in the two least disinterested or progressive Powers, to the absence of an amnesty, and to the omission from its scope of the vilayet of Adrianople.

It was not unnatural that the continued disturbances in Macedonia and the hardly concealed support afforded to the bands by unofficial, if not official, Bulgaria should once more have strained the relations between Turkey and her vassal. In 1904 war seemed nearly inevitable ; and Bulgaria, while resenting the severity displayed by Turkey in putting down the insurgents, began to fear that Russia's defeats at the hands of Japan would render her incapable of affording that assistance to which Bulgarian statesmen were now in the habit of looking when menaced by Turkey. It was also suspected that Austria might be tempted by Russia's weakness to extend her sway to northern Macedonia. Accordingly, prudence indicated the desirability of a fresh attempt at an arrangement with Turkey ; and, after negotiations which almost broke down owing to Bulgaria's insistence on the extension of the Mürzsteg programme to the vilayet of Adrianople, an agreement was signed on April 8, 1904. By it Bulgaria engaged to prevent the formation of bands in her territory, to punish all who fled to the Principality after committing in the adjoining vilayets of Turkey acts calculated to disturb public order, and to prevent the introduction of arms and explosives into those vilayets. On her part Turkey undertook to carry out her share of the Mürzsteg reforms, to grant an amnesty for political offences, and to repatriate the refugees and assist in their re-settlement. But the agreement was not carried out by either

side ; and the tension between the two countries was not relieved. In 1905 various conventions relating chiefly to matters of commercial interest were concluded between Turkey and Bulgaria, but these were never ratified or put into force ; and it was found impossible to come to an understanding on the important point of linking up the Turkish and Bulgarian railways in Macedonia.

About this time a recrudescence of activity among the Greek bands in Macedonia led to an outbreak of anti-Greek feeling in Bulgaria which at one time threatened to assume serious proportions, and left behind much latent animosity. With Serbia the relations became slightly more cordial. The feeling of enmity engendered by the war of 1885 had died out, though resentment at Serbian interference in Macedonia had in some measure replaced it. The rulers of the two countries met at Nish, and the result was a temporary *rapprochement*, under the influence of which a Customs Union Treaty between Serbia and Bulgaria was signed on July 9, 1905. It was greeted in Bulgaria with general approval ; but Austria, dismayed at the prospect of too close an agreement between the neighbouring Balkan States and the barrier likely to be formed thereby to her aggressive designs, prevailed upon Serbia to refuse to ratify the Treaty.

(10) *Independence of Bulgaria*

The year 1908 was pregnant with results for Turkey and the Balkan States. In that year the Balkan agreement between Russia and Austria came to an end, as the aims of the two countries were diametrically opposed, and Austria would no longer consent to be satisfied with the *status quo*. Russia and England having now composed their differences, the two monarchs met at Reval (June 1908). The Turkish constitutionalists, who had

for some time been at work in secret, now precipitated matters in the fear that the outcome of the Reval meeting would be a permanent diminution of Turkish authority in Macedonia. The Constitution was restored; and it was hoped that henceforth Turkey would follow the path of reform and equality. The Mürzsteg reform scheme came to an end, as being no longer necessary. Fraternization was the order of the day; and the bands ceased their depredations.

But Bulgaria was inclined to be sceptical, and the overtures of the Young Turks to the Macedonian Committee were received with much reserve, though co-operation at some future date was not excluded. Time and more mature consideration led to the conclusion that, while a constitutional regime in Macedonia, if honestly meant and conscientiously and impartially applied, could not fail to further greatly the political and material development of the Bulgarian element, it would nevertheless deal a death-blow to all the hopes cherished in Bulgaria of eventually absorbing the country. The Bulgarian Government therefore judged it prudent to await events, while carefully watching the course of the negotiations between the Young Turks and the Macedonian Internal Organization, conducted in the hope that concessions in regard to schools and local autonomy might afford satisfaction to the desires of the people. But it became evident that Turkey would not be allowed to carry out her experiment in constitutionalism unhampered. Austria was preparing her *coup* for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and Bulgaria made no secret of the fact that, in that case, she would declare her independence.

It so happened that the latter step was hastened by two events. The first was the circumstance that, in issuing invitations to a dinner given to the diplomatic corps at Constantinople, the Turkish Minister for

Foreign Affairs omitted the Bulgarian representative on the ground that, as the agent of a vassal state, he really possessed no diplomatic character. This gave great offence in Bulgaria, and a strong movement for declaring her independence was set on foot. Almost at the same time difficulties arose with the Oriental Railway Company, an Austrian concern owning the line from Constantinople to Sofia. A strike occurred on the railway, whereupon Bulgaria occupied militarily that portion of the line which ran through Eastern Rumelia, and refused to restore it, while professing her readiness to respect the company's rights of ownership. During a visit to the Austrian Emperor, Prince Ferdinand gave assurances that the question would be settled favourably for Austria. But he was overruled by his Ministers, who succeeded in convincing him that the retention of the railway line in Bulgarian hands was indispensable for the safety of the country, and a necessary corollary to the declaration of independence, so dear to the Prince's heart. Accordingly, on October 5, 1908, Prince Ferdinand was proclaimed Tsar of the Bulgarians. Turkey protested against this violation of the Berlin Treaty, and declared that she reserved her rights. It had long been a cherished design of Prince Ferdinand to declare himself king of an independent Bulgaria. The plan had been mooted in his early days, and had been brought forward more than once since. It had aroused in the country no particular enthusiasm, nor was it likely to do so as long as the Macedonian question remained unsettled. But the recent slight put on the country had stirred public opinion to the depths; and the proclamation met with general satisfaction throughout the country.

At this time Bulgaria had 100,000 men under arms. The war party clamoured for instant mobilization, and have subsequently alleged that a unique opportunity of

attacking Turkey was lost. But peaceful counsels prevailed ; and it then became a question of paying compensation for the railway and of satisfying certain other Turkish claims. From the first Bulgaria declined to pay more than 82,000,000 francs ; Turkey was eventually induced by the Powers to accept 125,000,000 francs ; and, as Bulgaria adhered to her first offer and was indeed unable to pay more, Russia undertook to settle the matter by making good the difference herself, abandoning to Turkey forty of the annuities of £350,000 which Turkey was bound by treaty to pay to Russia in respect of war indemnity, and which when capitalized would realize the desired sum. Bulgaria admitted her indebtedness to Russia in the sum of 82,000,000 francs ; the necessary agreements were concluded on April 6, 1909. As a result, Turkey desisted from further claims regarding the railways, the arrears of Eastern Rumelian tribute, or compensation for Turkish State property in Bulgaria or Eastern Rumelia ; she also renounced any claim to a Bulgarian tribute or to the assumption by Bulgaria of a share of the Turkish debt (though against this proviso a *caveat* was entered by the Public Debt Council), and agreed to recognize the new state of affairs in Bulgaria. Various other pending questions were settled at the same time, among others those relating to Moslem communities in Bulgaria and to *vakufs* or religious properties. On April 21, 1909, the Emperor of Russia recognized the independence of Bulgaria ; and within a week all the other Powers had followed his example.

(11) *Formation of the Balkan League*

But the constitutional movement in Turkey, and especially the ultra-national and chauvinistic form which it took, could not fail to bring about a fundamental change in the prospects of the Macedonian

question. If Turkey's new rulers succeeded in 'turkifying' the country, the aspirations of the Christian States of the Balkans were at an end. It was therefore obviously their interest to sink their differences and by mutual concession to secure at least a portion of the long coveted gains which were now threatened with total loss. For this purpose Serbia and Bulgaria began to draw nearer. King Ferdinand had recently visited Petersburg to lay before the Russian Government the condition of affairs in Macedonia, in the hope of obtaining support. He next proceeded to Constantinople, where he received promises that a commercial treaty would be concluded, the frontier demarcated, the railway junction settled; and that in Macedonia all reasonable demands of Bulgarians for equal treatment should be granted, so as to establish permanent good relations between Turkey and Bulgaria.

The disturbances in Albania and Crete in 1909 and 1910 caused no trouble with Bulgaria, where, however, great offence was given by the Turkish order for the disarmament of the people of the three Macedonian vilayets and the manner in which it was carried out. Only the Christians were disarmed, often in circumstances of great cruelty; as usual, refugees fled to Bulgaria. Representations were made to Turkey, who denied that any brutalities had been committed. Eventually the refugees were repatriated, and matters resumed their normal condition. But in view of the rapidly growing danger from Turkey on the one hand, and from Austria on the other, it is not surprising that the Balkan States showed an increasing tendency to unite; and this inclination was fostered by Russia, now led by events to take up a more decided attitude in the peninsula.

The year 1911 showed no diminution in the activity and outrages of the revolutionary bands, public feeling in Bulgaria being more than usually excited by Turkish

misrule in Macedonia. The British Government urged Bulgaria not to allow her territory to be used by the leaders of bands as a base from which to conduct operations against Turkey ; the Porte also made complaints. Matters improved somewhat on the formation of a coalition ministry under M. Geshoff. Stronger measures were now taken to prevent bands from crossing the frontier. But border affrays occurred from time to time ; and it was not long before even M. Geshoff was much dissatisfied with the state of things. The Macedonian Organization memorialized the Powers on the condition of Macedonia, which they described as being worse than in Abdul Hamid's time, when at least some European control was exercised. The war with Italy now occupied all Turkey's attention ; and the Comitadjis decided that, while exerting pressure to obtain autonomy for Macedonia, they should make no movement until the spring of 1912, unless through reverses in Tripoli civil war should break out in Turkey. Though not followed by any immediate overt act on the part of Bulgaria, the Turco-Italian War was welcomed as likely to weaken Turkey and to bring about civil dissensions which might have an important bearing on the fate of Macedonia. Austria urged Bulgaria to remain peaceful, and received the assurance that the *status quo* would be maintained, and that Bulgaria would not move unless interests which she considered vital were threatened by other Powers. Meanwhile, the negotiations between Bulgaria and Turkey on the subject of railway connexions and other matters continued, but without result.

Greater issues, however, were now at stake ; and it became necessary for the King of Bulgaria to abandon his policy of vacillating between Austria and Russia, the real rivals in the Balkans, and to decide on throwing in his lot with the one or the other. Hitherto, his choice

had been dictated by personal considerations and the impulse of the moment. But it was now plain that, not satisfied with the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, Austria intended to take advantage of Turkey's difficulties to make a step forward in the Balkans ; she was credited with the desire of establishing a large autonomous Albania, by which Serbia would be permanently debarred from access to the sea, and the future of the Balkan States would be threatened. The Balkan States naturally gravitated towards Russia, after abandoning the hope entertained for a moment of forming a league with Turkey. Since 1878 Bulgaria had been chafing at the loss of the territories awarded to her by the Treaty of San Stefano. The deplorable condition of Macedonia and the failure of the various reform schemes proposed or encouraged by the Powers kept alive the hope that Bulgaria would some day be able to realize her hopes of acquiring the country which she deemed her own. Now that Turkey was at war with Italy, and Serbia made proposals for an alliance, the long-desired opportunity seemed to have come.

Accordingly, in October 1911, negotiations took a concrete form. Originally directed quite as much against Austria as against Turkey, they were conducted with the cognizance and under the guidance of Russia, who stipulated that no forward movement should take place at that time. The first desideratum was an agreement as to the division of the expected spoils. A partial understanding was come to, the question of the definite division of Macedonia between Bulgaria and Serbia being reserved for the future arbitration of Russia, who accepted the task. It was agreed that neither Italy nor Austria should be admitted to any share in the territorial division, and that Turkey should not be weakened more than was absolutely necessary. It was also decided to induce Greece to join. King Ferdinand's

scruples at thus breaking definitely with Austria were overcome only by direct pressure from the Tsar ; the concurrence of Greece was obtained at the festivities of the coming of age of Prince Boris on February 2, 1912, when the Princes of the various Balkan States attended at Sofia.

After this matters moved rapidly. On March 13, 1912, a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded between Serbia and Bulgaria, by which each Power guaranteed the political independence and the territorial integrity of the other, and each undertook to come to the other's assistance, employing for that purpose the whole of its forces, in the event of an attack by one or more Powers. The latter undertaking was to hold good in case any one of the Great Powers should attempt to annex or to occupy even temporarily any part of the Balkan peninsula actually under Turkish domination, should such action be deemed by either party to be contrary to its vital interests. Both parties bound themselves not to conclude a separate peace ; and provision was made for the conclusion of a military convention. By a secret annexe it was provided that, in the event of serious disturbances in Turkey threatening the preservation of the *status quo* in the Balkan peninsula, that party which first came to the conclusion that military action should be taken was to communicate with the other party with a view to an agreement, subject always to the concurrence of Russia, to whom such agreement was to be communicated at once ; and, in case of divergence of views between the parties, the decision was to rest with Russia. All territorial gains accruing were to be held under a condominium of the two allies ; and a settlement was to take place not later than three months after the restoration of peace, on the following terms : Serbia recognized Bulgaria's right to the territories east of the Rhodope and of the Struma ;

Bulgaria recognized Serbia's right to the territories north and west of the Shar Planina. As to the region between the Shar, the Rhodope, the Aegean, and the Lake of Okhrida, if both parties agreed that, owing to the interests of the Bulgarian and Serbian nationalities, or for other reasons, these could not be formed into an autonomous province, Serbia consented not to claim any territories beyond a certain line extending from Mount Golem (north of Kriva Palanka) on the original Turco-Bulgarian frontier and proceeding generally in a south-westerly direction to the Lake of Okhrida. Bulgaria undertook to accept this line if the Emperor of Russia should pronounce in favour of it; and both parties agreed to abide by His Majesty's award as regards the future frontier-line. The text of the treaty and the annex were to be communicated to the Russian Government, by whom any divergences of view were to be settled.

The clauses indicating Russia's position as arbiter—which afford a presumption that the negotiations were conducted with her knowledge and approval—added greatly to the value of the treaty from the Serbian point of view, making it very difficult for King Ferdinand to withdraw from its stipulations, should he wish to do so.

The treaty of alliance between Bulgaria and Greece was signed on May 29, 1912. Its stipulations were: (1) an undertaking of mutual defence in the event of an attack by Turkey, whether in the territory of the parties or by systematic violation of treaty-rights or of fundamental principles of the law of nations; no separate peace to be made; (2) a mutual promise to use their influence with their respective race-brethren in Turkey to induce them to contribute conscientiously to the pacific coexistence of the elements constituting the population of the empire, and, on the other hand, to

co-operate in any representations to Turkey or the Great Powers with the object of bringing about or of assuring the realization of the rights granted by treaty or otherwise to the Greek and Bulgarian nationalities, and the application of political equality and of constitutional guarantees; (3) the treaty to remain in force for three years, and thereafter from year to year, failing denunciation, and (4) to be kept secret. Provisions reserving its effects as regards Crete figure in an annexed declaration. It will be observed that the thorny question of delimitation was not mentioned; this was left for future settlement, its present discussion being likely to impede the conclusion of the alliance.

Military conventions were also signed. That between Bulgaria and Serbia (dated May 12, 1912) provided that, in the event of the action contemplated in the Treaty of Alliance, Bulgaria was to furnish a force of not less than 200,000 combatants and Serbia one of at least 150,000; if Rumania or Turkey attacked Bulgaria, Serbia was to supply at least 100,000 combatants; while, if Austria attacked Serbia, Bulgaria was at once to declare war against Austria and to furnish 200,000 men. These were the principal provisions; the rest contemplated certain other contingencies or referred to details of a military nature. The military convention with Greece was not concluded until September 22, 1912. By its terms (1) Greece promised in the event of war with Turkey to intervene with a force of at least 120,000 men, Bulgaria undertaking to furnish 300,000; (2) each Power undertook to assist the other, if attacked, with the number of troops already mentioned; the Greek fleet was also to secure command of the Aegean Sea and to interrupt communication between Asia Minor and European Turkey; other provisions excluded the grant of an armistice of more than 24 hours' duration without the

consent of the Allies, &c. The alliances with Montenegro were left to the last, in the desire of avoiding indiscretion or premature action. The various agreements were concluded with the utmost secrecy; and, though the fact that negotiations had been conducted could not be concealed, up to the outbreak of war the existence of the treaties was not generally known.

(12) *First Balkan War ; Conferences of London*

Meanwhile, Turco-Bulgarian relations were in their usual unsatisfactory condition. In Bulgaria the Ishtip massacre (1911) had caused much ill feeling; on her side Turkey complained of the activity of the band-leaders and of the smuggling of arms, &c., into Macedonia. In the spring of 1912 emissaries of the Macedonian Internal Organization had visited the European capitals in order to call attention to the disastrous state of affairs and to induce Europe to urge Turkey to institute real reforms. Everywhere their representations met with a sympathetic hearing. Throughout Bulgaria mass meetings were held, at which resolutions were passed calling on the Government to intervene to save Macedonia by enforcing Article XXIII of the Berlin Treaty, but no hostile manifestations against Turkey were made.

On August 6, 1912, a massacre of Christians at Kochana had followed on a bomb outrage; Bulgaria at once demanded an impartial inquiry, the punishment of the guilty, and the prevention of such acts in future. A commission of inquiry was sent, but nothing else was done. The excitement in Bulgaria was increased by rumours that Albania was to receive autonomy—a concession which would be deeply resented in the Balkan States unless Macedonia were accorded the same privilege. In the hope of relieving the tension, and perhaps of increasing her influence in the Balkans, a

proposal was made by Austria that the Powers should urge the Porte to adopt decentralization, so as to afford legitimate guarantees to the Christian nationalities, and should endeavour to induce the Balkan States to await peacefully the result of this policy. The proposal was, however, dropped, as Russia did not favour it, while it was clear that Turkey would refuse compliance. Meanwhile the growing unrest was heightened by alleged massacres at Berana and Sienitsa ; and Bulgaria began to make military preparations.

On August 29 Russia warned Bulgaria against committing any act of aggression ; a fortnight later a similar and stronger admonition followed, to the effect that Turkey would make peace with Italy, buy off Greece with Crete, and contain Serbia by means of the Albanians, so that Bulgaria would be left unaided. M. Geshoff reminded the Russian Minister that it was Russia who had brought about the alliance between the Balkan States, and that, if she now sought to detach them, her influence in the Balkans would be at an end. In her turn Bulgaria now made strong representations to the Powers, urging, so late as September 20, that the Government would be powerless to restrain the warlike spirit unless Turkey introduced immediate and acceptable reforms ; no mere promises would avail, and the Allies were strong enough to enforce their will on Turkey if she declined to give way. M. Sazonoff, who was at this time in London, urged on both the Serbian and the Bulgarian representatives the necessity of remaining peaceful ; Russia, he said, had indeed welcomed the Balkan agreement as being for mutual defence and the recognition of their mutual interests ; but if, in defiance of the repeated warnings given, they attacked Turkey, Russia would be guided only by her own direct interests. As a last attempt for the preservation of peace, Austria and Russia, acting more or less as the

mandatories of Europe, made a joint representation to all the Balkan States, including Turkey, promising that the Powers would take in hand, in the interests of the Christians, administrative reforms on the basis of Article XXIII of the Berlin Treaty, it being understood that these reforms would not impair the integrity of the Ottoman dominions. They deprecated any measure likely to lead to a breach of the peace, and declared that, if war broke out, they would not consent, on the termination of the war, to any change in the territorial *status quo* in the Balkan peninsula.

This communication was made on October 8, just at the moment when Montenegro declared war against Turkey. Five days later the four Balkan States replied. They stated that, after the many promises given by Turkey and expressly recorded in international instruments, it would be cruel not to endeavour to institute reforms more radical and more definite. The Balkan States had therefore considered it their duty to address themselves directly to the Turkish Government to point out the principles on which the reforms to be introduced should be based, and the guarantees which must be given for their conscientious application. The Porte's reply was to the effect that Turkey had recognized the necessity of introducing reforms in European Turkey, and intended to apply them without foreign interference. The failure of her attempts to improve the internal situation was due to the state of unrest produced by agitators. Turkey intended to lay before Parliament the law of 1880 on the European vilayets, and, if it were passed, to see to its prompt and impartial application.

The communication of the Balkan States to Turkey, made on October 13, took the form of an ultimatum. Its chief demands were the full confirmation of the ethnical autonomy of the nationalities of the Empire ;

proportional representation in the Ottoman Parliament of every nationality ; admission of Christians to all public offices in provinces inhabited by Christians ; recognition of Christian schools on the same footing as Moslem schools ; an engagement by the Porte not to modify the ethnological character of the provinces by transplanting the Moslem population ; district recruitment of Christians for military service with Christian cadres ; reorganization of the Macedonian *gendarmerie* under the effective command of Swiss or Belgian organizers ; appointment of Swiss or Belgian valis in the provinces inhabited by Christians ; and the creation at the Grand Vizierate of a superior Council composed of Christians and Moslems, in equal numbers, to superintend the application of these reforms, under the supervision of the Ambassadors of the Powers and of the Ministers of the four Balkan States. Turkey was to bind herself to carry out the reforms demanded within six months. The terms in which the ultimatum was couched were deliberately chosen to make their acceptance impossible ; as anticipated, they were rejected by Turkey, and war was declared on October 17, nine days after Montenegro had broken with the Porte.

In the hostilities which ensued Montenegro was victorious in many encounters with the Turks, but was long baffled by the defence of Scutari, which eventually fell to her and her Serbian allies on April 23, 1913 ; the Serbians captured Prishtina, Kumanovo, Skoplye (Üs-küb), Prisren, and Monastir, and reached the Adriatic coast, occupying Alessio and Durazzo. Greece overran Thessaly and Epirus, capturing Salonica on November 8, besides occupying Chio and the remaining islands. Bulgaria was even more strikingly successful ; great victories were won over the Turks at Kirk Kilsse and at Lule Burgas, and the enemy fled to the lines of Chatalja, before Constantinople. The successes of the

Allies had been received with enthusiasm throughout Europe, and extinguished the prospect of enforcing the principle laid down by the Powers that no modification of the *status quo* would be permitted. But it soon became clear that Austria would not allow Serbia to retain her conquests on the Adriatic or Montenegro to possess Scutari, while Russia was equally opposed to a Bulgarian entry into Constantinople, or to the Greeks threatening the Dardanelles. Austria and Russia agreed not to intervene if the other refrained from so doing, but they took their precautions; Austria poured troops into Dalmatia, and Russia also adopted defensive measures.

On November 5 Turkey approached the Great Powers with a request for their mediation, but this proved impracticable. Eight days later she consented to appeal direct to Bulgaria for a cessation of hostilities with a view to arranging preliminaries of peace. The terms of the armistice gave rise to various proposals and counter-proposals, and were not signed until December 3, 1912.

The negotiations, which began in London in December 1912, at first led to no satisfactory result. The demands of the Allies, which included the cession of all Turkey's dominions west of a line drawn from Rodosto on the Marmora to Malatra on the Black Sea (exclusive of the Gallipoli Peninsula, but including Albania), as well as all the islands, were regarded by Turkey as exorbitant; her counter-offers were wholly inadequate. In presence of this deadlock, the Powers, on January 17, 1913, made a collective representation to Turkey, urging on her the importance of adopting a moderate and conciliatory attitude. They reminded her that after the war she would stand in need of the goodwill of the Powers, and warned her that she could reckon on it only if she now followed their advice, which was to cede Adrianople and leave to the Powers the decision of the fate of the Aegean Islands. Turkey was

giving signs of accepting the inevitable and of yielding to the demand of the Powers, when a military *coup d'état* was carried out at Constantinople to prevent this concession. Enver Bey, who now became all-powerful, was for prosecuting the war with vigour. However, on January 30, 1913, Turkey replied to the collective note of the Powers that she was ready to cede that part of Adrianople which was situated on the right bank of the Maritsa (i. e. excluding the greater part of the town); it might be possible for her to give way in respect of the islands, if the Powers would take into account their strategic value for the defence of the capital or of the Asiatic provinces, as the case might be. At the same time, she claimed a free hand in the matter of customs duties, and demanded concessions in respect of the foreign post offices and of the capitulations.

On the same day the Allies denounced the armistice; and four days later the bombardment of Adrianople was resumed. The recrudescence of warlike energy in Turkey evaporated after the failure of an attempt to dislodge the Bulgarians from before Chatalja; and on February 10, 1913, she appealed to the Powers to mediate for the conclusion of peace on the express basis of her statement of January 30. By the end of February, however, she agreed to their unconditional mediation. The prospects of peace seemed now more favourable, as Bulgaria's tone began to be more moderate, in view of the prolongation of the war and the sufferings of her troops. Negotiations were, however, delayed by the Balkan States in the hope that Adrianople would fall; this event did not occur until March 26. On April 15 a fresh armistice was agreed to, and the delegates once more met in London. The proposals and counter-proposals on each side were very divergent; moreover, matters were much complicated by Austria's insistence on the formation of an autonomous Albania and the

consequent inhibition of Serbia and Montenegro from retaining the conquests they had achieved in that region. It became necessary for the Powers to exert considerable pressure on the Allies, whose dissensions had now reached the point of a rupture, in order that peace should be signed. This aim was attained only on May 30, 1913, when, on being summoned either to sign or to leave London, the delegates of the belligerent Powers affixed their signatures to the Treaty of London. Its main provisions were the cession by Turkey to the Balkan Allies of all the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire west of a line drawn from Enos on the Aegean to Midia on the Black Sea, with the exception of Albania; the Great Powers were to decide on the delimitation of Albania and all questions concerning it, as well as the ultimate disposal of the islands of the Aegean Sea (except Crete, ceded to the Allies) and of the peninsula of Mount Athos.

(13) *Second Balkan War ; Treaty of Bucarest*

The results of the short campaign seemed to be more brilliantly successful than any of the Allies could have hoped for. But, unfortunately, the dissensions between them had become so acute that it was clear, even before the signature of the treaty, that a fresh war between the Allies could be avoided only by the exercise of moderation and conciliation such as no one of them was willing to display. The disposal of the spoils could hardly be effected peaceably. As regards Greece and Bulgaria, no preliminary agreement had been arrived at; each country was accused of having trespassed on the other's rightful share of the conquered territory. Greece and Bulgaria had indeed come to open strife at Nigrita in March 1913; and, though the hostilities did not extend at the time, much ill feeling arose from the mutual jealousies and exorbitant claims of both parties.

Bulgaria, already supported by Austria, claimed both Salonika and Kavalla, which Greece was determined not to abandon. Between Serbia and Bulgaria the treaty of alliance had apparently provided for all contingencies, yet the most serious divergencies soon arose.

When hostilities against Turkey were renewed in February, Bulgaria addressed to Serbia a pressing demand for siege artillery and additional troops in order to overcome the resistance of Adrianople. The request was complied with by Serbia, who, however, gave it to be understood that, in return for this aid, territorial compensation would be claimed, and that Bulgaria would be required to cede to Serbia Monastir, Prilep, and Veles, thus bringing the Serbian frontier to the Vardar. Bulgaria rejected this demand on the ground that the Military Convention required Serbia to furnish unlimited help, and claimed that no departure from the terms of the treaty was permissible.¹ Serbia, however, persisted in maintaining that the support given by her in Thrace went beyond the stipulations of the Military Agreement, and that Bulgaria had failed to comply with certain provisions of the latter; Bulgaria, moreover, would now probably acquire Adrianople, a gain which had not been contemplated at the time of the alliance, while Serbia would have to renounce her conquests in Albania owing to Austrian opposition. She therefore claimed a revision of the treaty. Neither party would recede from its position; and the strenuous intervention of Russia with a view to bringing about an agreement or to induce the parties to refer the question to her decision, as the natural protectress of the Slavs, had no effect but to make her unpopular and to create a pro-Austrian party in Bulgaria.

As a last attempt at conciliation, the Serbian and

¹ See text of Treaty and Convention given in Appendices XII and XIII to *The Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series.

Bulgarian Prime Ministers met ; and it was hoped to arrange a meeting of the Ministers of the four Balkan States in some Balkan town or else at Petersburg, to discuss the points at issue. But in spite of Russia's strong advocacy the plan fell through ; M. Geshoff, whose conciliatory attitude was adversely criticized in Bulgaria, now resigned and was succeeded by M. Daneff. On June 10 the Emperor of Russia addressed to the Kings of Bulgaria and Serbia a strong personal appeal, promising to arrange all questions at issue between the two countries and urging that they should demobilize. Bulgaria, who underrated the strength of her opponents and was determined to insist on what she considered to be her rights, replied that she could in no circumstances assent to a revision of the Treaty, though she was ready to submit to the arbitration of Russia in everything indicated in it as subject to arbitration. This reply greatly incensed Russia, who considered that, as the protectress of Bulgaria, to whom she had furnished arms, &c., and as having held Austria in check during the Balkan War by keeping 400,000 men on a war-footing, her advice should have been followed. As for Serbia, she expressed her readiness to reduce her forces by three-fourths, provided that Bulgaria did the same. A proposal for joint action by the Powers to bring about demobilization failed owing to lack of support from Austria, who was now clearly favouring Bulgaria and encouraging her in her opposition to Russia and Serbia. The consequence was that war was declared by Bulgaria against both Serbia and Greece.

In the fighting which ensued the general result was unfavourable to Bulgaria, who might, however, have held her own had her antagonists been only her former allies, though her army was greatly exhausted by the previous campaign and her troops were far from displaying against brother Slavs the same vigour as when fight-

ing against the hereditary Moslem enemy. But Bulgaria found herself paralysed by the intervention of Rumania. Ever since the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin Rumania considered that she had a substantial grievance in having been deprived of Bessarabia ; as soon as it became a question of modifying the territorial arrangements determined by that treaty, she put forward her claim to compensation. This she based in part on services rendered in the past to Bulgaria, in harbouring refugees and serving as a base of operations against Turkey, and also on her neutrality during the Balkan War. But she had never concealed her determination that she must receive some aggrandizement ; and this could only be given at the expense of Bulgaria. When it became clear that Bulgaria would acquire a large accession of territory and an increase of population, and also in view of her cherished aspirations in the Dobruja, Rumania considered it essential that the frontier between the Danube and the Black Sea should be strengthened, and that for this purpose Silistria must be in her hands. Bulgaria showed little inclination to fall in with these views, but on January 29, 1913, consented to dismantle the forts round Silistria and to concede a slight rectification of the frontier. The matter was referred to the decision of the Ambassadors at Petersburg, under the presidency of M. Sazonoff ; and on April 17, 1913, this body awarded the town of Silistria to Rumania, the new frontier passing about three kilometres west of Silistria.

Rumania was not satisfied with this award, and, when war broke out between the late Allies, she decided to intervene. Her armies overran a considerable part of Bulgaria, whose military operations against Greece and Serbia were thus much hampered, though no actual fighting took place between Rumanian and Bulgarian troops, the latter retiring before the advance of the

former. To add to Bulgaria's discomfiture, Turkey, who had persistently withstood all pressure to demobilize, now marched into Thrace, in open disregard of the Treaty of London, recaptured Adrianople, and invaded Bulgaria proper. Russia urged coercion and a naval demonstration to force Turkey to respect an undertaking so recently concluded under international auspices, but the Triple Alliance would not agree; and the prestige of the European Concert suffered through its inability to prevent the violation of a covenant just drawn up under its own sanction. Bulgaria's position was now hopeless, and she could save herself only by agreeing with Rumania's demands; she therefore consented at last to part with the territory comprised within a line from Tutrakan to Balchik. Rumania, having gained what she desired, proposed on July 21 an armistice, to which Greece and Serbia were induced to consent by pressure from Austria and Russia, who warned them that they would incur grave responsibility if they refused, as they would thereby be facilitating Turkey's invasion of Bulgaria.

On July 30 the peace negotiations began at Bucarest. Bulgaria relied on the help of Austria, to whom she had appealed to support a proposal for an autonomous Macedonia, and who had promised that she would use her influence on behalf of Bulgarian claims and also to re-open later any territorial settlement arrived at. Bulgaria, moreover, made attempts at concluding a separate peace with Rumania, in the forlorn hope that she would then be able to deal with Greece and Serbia. These expectations were not realized. Rumania refused to enter into separate negotiations, and Austria was unable to obtain better terms for Bulgaria. On August 10, 1913, the treaty of peace was signed at Bucarest. It reduced Bulgaria's gains in Macedonia to the upper valley of the Struma, besides a slice of Thrace

extending roughly along the Maritsa (but excluding Adrianople) to the Aegean, and as far west as the Mesta river, thus leaving to Bulgaria Dedeagatch and Porto Lagos; further, the Turco-Bulgarian frontier was slightly rectified so as to give Mustafa Pasha to Bulgaria. The rest of the territory conquered from Turkey was divided between Greece and Serbia; finally, the cession to Rumania of the Tutrakan-Balchik line was made effective. It is interesting to note that by Article V of the Treaty, Bulgaria explicitly abandoned any claim to the island of Crete, thus showing how far-reaching her aspirations had been. The plan of submitting the treaty to the revision of the Powers, though favoured by Austria and supported in other quarters, was not realized. On August 25 the formal ratifications were exchanged. Some days earlier a secret agreement had been signed by Rumania, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro to ensure the execution of the treaty by Bulgaria, using force if necessary.

The results of the two Balkan Wars are set out below:

| | | | | <i>Total after 1913:</i> | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|---------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Sq. km.</i> | <i>Inhabi- tants.</i> | | <i>Sq. km.</i> | <i>Inhabi- tants.</i> |
| Bulgaria : gained from Turkey | 25,257 | 656,535 | | | |
| ceded to Rumania | 7,525 | 282,131 | | | |
| net gain | 17,732 | 374,404 | 114,017 | 4,711,917 | |
| Greece : gained from Turkey | 55,400 | 2,066,647 | 120,060 | 4,698,599 | |
| Serbia : " " " | 39,000 | 1,750,000 | 87,300 | 4,600,000 | |
| Montenegro : " " " | 5,100 | 150,000 | 14,180 | 435,000 | |
| Rumania : " " Bulgaria | 7,525 | 282,131 | 145,427 | 7,791,140 | |

The three chief belligerents were thus left in a position approaching equality as regards population, while Rumania retained a decided preponderance.

It may be computed that the second Balkan War cost Bulgaria nearly 50,000 men, some twenty millions sterling, and the loss of at least 40,000 square kilometres of territory. Thus were the brilliant results attained in

the field during the joint war against Turkey almost entirely annihilated a few months later. The Treaty of Bucarest, by depriving Bulgaria of the legitimate conquest of her arms, turned her against Russia, whom she blamed for deserting her in her extremity. Austria took full advantage of the change, and after 1913 quite regained her lost influence; the use she made of it was to bring Bulgaria (where an Austrophil ministry came into office on M. Daneff's resignation, July 1913) over to the side of the Central Powers in the European war, thus affording an opportunity of revenge on Serbia and of regaining the lost Macedonian territories. With Turkey also Bulgaria had become reconciled. On September 29, 1913, a treaty was signed at Constantinople between the two countries, delimiting the new frontier in Thrace and settling questions of nationality, property, &c.¹

¹ See text in Appendix XVII of *The Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

THE Bulgarian Church claims to be an inseparable member of the Eastern or 'Greek' Orthodox communion, from which it differs in no respect doctrinally. It was, nevertheless, excommunicated as schismatic by the Greek Patriarch in 1872 (see p. 15). After the abolition of the Bulgarian Patriarchate of Trnovo in 1393, and of that of Okhrida in 1766, the Bulgarian Christians in Turkey were subject to the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople till March 11, 1870, when the Imperial Firman of that date established the Bulgarian Exarchate with jurisdiction over 15 dioceses, including Nish and Pirot (subsequently adjudged to Serbia by the Berlin Treaty), and Veles in Macedonia; other dioceses in Turkey were to be added in case at least two-thirds of the Christian local population so desired. In virtue of this provision the Porte subsequently issued the *berat* or *exequatur* for Bulgarian bishops in Okhrida, Üsküb, Monastir (Pelagonia), Veles (a restoration), Nevrokop, Dibra, and Strumitsa, all in Macedonia. The firman and the *berats* possess historical importance as indicating a recognition of the Bulgarian character of the regions affected. Constantinople remained the seat of the Exarchate till 1913, when the Exarch Joseph withdrew to Sofia; after his death (two years later) no successor was appointed. The Bulgarian Church now numbers 22 dioceses, of which 7 are in Macedonia and 3 in Thrace. The Macedonian bishops were driven from their sees

by the Serbians in 1913; and many of the Bulgarian churches, which had survived in Turkish times, were burnt.

The bulk of the population of the Bulgarian kingdom belongs to the national Church. Of the population in 1910, 3,643,951 belonged to the Orthodox Church (of these a certain number remained subject to the Patriarch and called themselves Greek); 602,101 were Moslems, 40,070 were Jews, 32,130 were Roman Catholics, 12,270 were Gregorian Armenians, 6,252 were Protestants. Of the new population added by the Treaty of Bucarest 286,307 were Orthodox (227,598 Bulgarians and 58,709 Greeks), and 350,585 Moslems (75,337 Pomaks, i.e. Bulgarian converts, and 275,498 Turks). In the part of the Dobruja ceded to Rumania by the same treaty there were about 90,000 Moslems and 100,000 Orthodox.

The Constitution accords complete liberty to alien creeds; and difference of religion involves no restriction of civic rights. Mohammedans, Jews, Patriarchists, Catholics, and Protestants receive subsidies for their schools and salaries for the members of their respective religious organizations. The Moslem element is fully represented in the national Parliament. In general, religious toleration prevails to a greater extent than in any other State in Eastern Europe.¹

¹ Thus, when the Bulgarian Dobruja was appropriated by Rumania in 1913, the Moslem population lost the civic rights it had hitherto enjoyed. In Bulgaria no disabilities are imposed on Jews, as in Rumania. The Roman Catholic community in Bulgaria is organized under two bishops, and possesses numerous churches. The only exception to the rule of toleration in Bulgaria is to be found in the case of the Greek bishops who were expelled from their sees in retaliation for the alleged connexion of Greek ecclesiastics with atrocities committed in Macedonia.

(2) POLITICAL

The form of government is based on the Constitution of Trnovo, submitted in the shape of an Organic Statute by the Russian Commissary-General, Prince Dondukov-Korsakov, to a Constituent Assembly in 1879, and largely modified in a democratic sense by that body. It was suspended in 1881, restored in 1883, and revised in 1903 and 1911.

Bulgaria is declared to be a constitutional and hereditary monarchy. The King must profess the Orthodox faith, only the first elected sovereign having been released from this obligation. The legislative power is vested in the King acting jointly with a National Assembly. The King is the supreme head of the army, and represents the country in its international relations; he supervises the executive power, and appoints and dismisses Ministers.

The national representation is vested in the Sobranye or ordinary assembly, elected by manhood suffrage in the proportion of 1 member to every 20,000 of the population; and the Grand Sobranye, elected in exceptional circumstances, in the proportion of 2 to every 20,000. The Sobranye, which votes all legislative and financial measures, may be prorogued for a period of two months or dissolved by the King. The King may *proprio motu* impose measures having the force of laws whenever the State is threatened with immediate danger, but cannot levy fresh taxation without the previous sanction of the Sobranye. The Grand Sobranye is summoned to elect a new sovereign, to nominate a regency, to sanction a change in the Constitution, or to ratify an alteration in the limits of the kingdom. Any Bulgarian subject who has attained the age of 30, and can read and write, is eligible as a deputy to either assembly. The voting is by secret ballot. Naturalized

foreigners possess the right to vote, and may be elected after a residence of 15 years in the country. The system of proportional representation has been adopted. An annual Budget is presented to the Sobranje, which exercises supreme authority in the department of finance; the items of public expenditure are, at the same time, strictly controlled by the High Court of Accounts, an independent and semi-judicial organization.

The executive is entrusted to a Cabinet, at present (1918) consisting of nine Ministers. The Ministers are responsible to the King and the Sobranje, and may be impeached by the latter and tried by a special tribunal.

Local administration is organized on the Belgian model. The country is divided into a number of Departments, each under a prefect, assisted by a Departmental Council and aided by several sub-prefects. In some of the principal towns there is also a prefect of police. The system of municipal government, left untouched by the Turks, descends from primitive times. Each community, urban or rural, has its *Kmet* or mayor, and its council, and enjoys a large amount of local autonomy.

The administration of justice is vested exclusively in the Law Courts. The lowest Court is that of the justices of the peace, who possess jurisdiction in minor civil and criminal cases. Next comes the Departmental Court, or Court of first instance, which is competent to pronounce sentences of death and penal servitude, and also acts as a Court of Appeal. Above this are the three Courts of Appeal sitting at Sofia, Philippopolis, and Ruschuk. The highest tribunal is the Court of Cassation, sitting at Sofia, and composed of 12 judges. Its duty is to ensure the just and uniform application of the laws by the various tribunals throughout the

country. The Mohammedans and other alien religious communities are allowed to have their own ecclesiastical Courts, which deal with questions of religion, marriage, divorce, and inheritance.

In general the methods of government are more in accordance with modern ideas than might have been expected in view of the comparatively recent liberation of the country from Turkish rule; they compare favourably with those prevailing in neighbouring countries which have enjoyed a longer period of self-government. The system of communal autonomy, the retention of which was jealously insisted upon by the Constituent Assembly, on the whole works well; the mayors and urban or rural councils effectively defend local interests, and often provide a useful check on the action of the prefects and other functionaries of the central Government. The decision of conflicts arising between private persons and the administrative authorities rests exclusively with the Law Courts. The permanency of the judiciary has, to a large extent, been secured. Oppression, corruption, and nepotism have not been wholly eradicated, but are perhaps less prevalent than in some more highly civilized countries.

In regard to home affairs, popular opinion in recent years has shown a tendency to accept advanced democratic ideas, notwithstanding the extremely liberal character of the existing Constitution. This tendency has displayed itself in the formation of two Socialist groups—the ‘broad’ and the ‘narrow’—in the present Chamber; these are more or less in alliance with the Agrarians, a numerous group representing the interests of the peasant class. The Bulgarian peasants, who, as a rule, are small proprietors, care little for Socialist theories; they are sturdy champions of economy, both in public and in private life; and the alliance

between the Socialists and Agrarians is based not on a community of fundamental principles, but on a joint programme of retrenchment and reform, combined with hostility to the Court and the military element. Together with the Radicals, a small group, these parties desire peace and friendly relations with the other Balkan States. The other parties in the Chamber are the Nationalists (formerly Conservatives), under M. Geshoff; the Progressists (Zankovists or Russophils), under M. Daneff; the Democrats (Karavelists), under M. Malinoff; and the Liberals (Stambolovists, &c.), who are divided into various factions. The Cabinet from 1913 to 1918 represented a coalition of the Liberal group owing allegiance to M. Radoslavoff, the Prime Minister, and M. Toncheff, the Minister of Finance. The Turkish deputies have hitherto supported the Government of the day.

(3) NAVAL AND MILITARY ORGANIZATION

The organization of the military forces of the Principality was entrusted to Russian officers (1879-85). and during the same period the Eastern Rumelian 'militia' was instructed by foreign officers. According to the Budget of 1914, the total peace effective was 5,155 officers and 74,910 non-commissioned officers and men, with 18,620 horses. The war effective is given in the *Almanach de Gotha* (1918) as 211,124 men, with 44,352 horses and oxen, 1,204 guns, and 9,732 vehicles. All Bulgarian subjects are liable to military service, but Moslems can obtain exemption on payment of £20.¹ The Bulgarian peasant makes an admirable soldier; the army, however, has suffered very heavily in the course of three successive wars.

¹ This privilege was recently withdrawn.

The small flotillas on the Danube and the Black Sea were reorganized and trained for some years before the war of 1912 by French officers ; they have not been increased in recent years.

(4) PUBLIC EDUCATION

Until 1835, when the first Bulgarian school was founded at Gabrovo, education was entirely in the hands of the Greek clergy. Greek was the language of instruction ; and the bulk of the population was totally illiterate. The upper classes sent their children to be educated abroad. After the creation of the Principality great efforts were made by the Government, and heavy expenditure was incurred for the spread of education ; the satisfactory results attained are largely due to the keen desire for learning which exists among the people.

During the last three decades of Turkish rule, educational committees began to appear in various places ; they contributed more than any other institution to the intellectual and moral awakening of the nation and the foundation of an independent Bulgarian Church. Owing to the important part which they played in the national revival, these committees have become a traditional institution, which has been embodied in all the further developments of the educational system. They exist in every town and village, and exercise a general supervision over the primary schools. Each department has also its educational council, under the presidency of the prefect, which superintends the application of the educational laws under the control of the Minister of Public Instruction.

The educational system was reorganized in 1891. Primary education is obligatory for children of both

sexes between the ages of six and eleven. In primary schools the course of study is for four years. From the beginning of May till the 1st of September the rural schools are closed, as the whole population works in the fields. The schools are provided and maintained by the communes ; the teachers are paid by the State.

For secondary education there are gymnasia for male students, and ' high schools ' for female ; there are also ' class schools ' in many communes. The course of instruction extends over seven years ; during the last four years it is specialized in classical and science sections. There are also several technical, agricultural, and other schools. Government aid is given to students of limited means. The University of Sofia has three faculties, with 17 professors and 33 assistant professors.

The progress of education in Bulgaria is very striking. In 1888 only 11 per cent. of the population was literate ; to-day the proportion is probably over 60 per cent. ; the illiterate minority is mainly composed of aged persons and women. The spread of learning has unfortunately engendered a distaste for agricultural and industrial pursuits, and enormously increased the number of candidates for Government employment. The American institution of Robert College on the Bosphorus rendered an invaluable service to the young State in its early years by providing it with a number of well-educated young men fitted for positions of responsibility. The American school at Samokov has also done much for the country.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) INTERNAL

(a) *Roads*

ORIGINALLY the method of road construction was by forced labour. In 1883 a road tax was established for the main roads, and in the case of local roads alternatives were allowed of either paying an additional tax or doing four days' work on the roads annually. In 1900 the road service was reorganized, and roads were classed either as national roads or district roads; in the former class were placed military roads and those which run between important towns, railway stations, and ports; in the latter the roads which link up the villages with each other and with the national roads. The national roads are divided into three classes according to width, first-class roads having a metalled surface of 20 ft., second-class roads one of 16 ft., and third-class roads one of 13 ft. Although the national roads compare favourably with those of other Balkan countries, they cannot be described as good.

According to the official return for the year 1912, there were at that date 8,945 kilometres of roads, of which 6,420 kilometres were national roads, and 2,525 kilometres district roads. It is further stated that of these only 4,024 kilometres were good roads. The same return gives a total of 14,126 bridges and 1,184 culverts on the State and district roads.

It is stated that since her entry into the European War, Bulgaria has employed large numbers of prisoners

of war and civilian labourers in constructing military and other roads.

(b) *Rivers*

The most important river of Bulgaria, excepting the Danube (see *Rumania*, No. 23 in this series), is the Maritsa, which rises in the Rhodope Mountains, traverses the plain of Eastern Rumelia, and flows into the Aegean Sea at Enos. The length of the river is about 260 miles. Below Adrianople it is navigable for barges from October to June, and for flat-bottomed boats at all seasons of the year. It is also used by a local type of sailing boat of 30 tons. The average depth of the river in this section is 7 to 10 ft. The bed is sandy, and the current about 2 miles an hour in summer. Above Adrianople, though the current is slow and the river is in places very broad, the constant shifting of the river bed and the frequency of floods render it unsatisfactory as a waterway. It is stated that it would not be difficult by building up the banks to render the river a valuable waterway from the mouth to Philippopolis, in which case it would serve the whole of the Eastern Rumelian plain. The most important of its tributaries are the Elli Dere, which is used for floating timber; the Tunja, normally from 3 to 7 ft. in depth, and used by small boats; and the Arda, which is not navigable.

Of the other rivers flowing into the Aegean, the most important are the Mesta and the Struma. The former rises in the Rhodope Mountains, and flows in a general south-eastern direction into the Aegean Sea east of Kavalla. For most of its course it is shut in by mountains; the volume of water in it varies considerably in different parts of the year. Its greatest depth is almost 6 ft. In its lower courses the current flows at 3 to 4 miles an hour. It is not considered

to be of value as a commercial waterway, though presumably it might be used for rafting timber.

The Struma rises due south of Sofia, and after traversing the plains of Pernik, Radomir, and Kustendil, flows south, for the most part through a narrow valley, till it crosses the frontier into Greek Macedonia through the Rupel defile and finally reaches the Aegean Sea. The length of the river is about 150 miles. Though it has numerous affluents coming from the mountains on either side, it has not any steady volume of water. At times, especially in spring, it has a very rapid current, but in summer there is very little water in the river. It is stated that for long stretches it could be controlled and made serviceable as a waterway. If this were done it would become an important commercial thoroughfare for the produce of a fertile district, following as it does the natural outlet to the Aegean.

Of the rivers which flow into the Danube, the most important are the Isker, the Osma, the Yantra, and the Lom. The rivers are fed by the Balkan Mountains and flow swiftly; there are consequently considerable engineering difficulties in the way of their being made useful for navigation, particularly as the melting of the mountain snows in the spring causes extensive inundations, but they might be made of service for the generation of electricity.

Of the rivers which flow into the Black Sea, the most important are the Provadi Dere, which flows into the Black Sea at Varna, and the Kamchik, which flows into the Black Sea about 15 miles south of that town. Neither is used for navigation.

(c) Railways

In 1912 there were 1,210 miles of railway in Bulgaria ; in 1914 the total had increased to 1,486 miles. With the exception of a few miles of railway belonging to private industrial concerns, and the section of the Salonika-Adrianople Railway from Okjilar near Xanthi to Dedeagach (the ownership of which has not been settled), the railways are owned by the State, and are controlled by the General Board of State Railways and Ports. The lines are single throughout, and of the normal European gauge, viz. 1·436 metres. The average cost of construction per mile has been much lower in Bulgaria than in other European States, except Finland and Sweden, in spite of the difficult nature of the country. As a result the lines were badly laid, and were not before the war capable of bearing any great strain.

The following lines are projected :

1. From Michailovo, on the Philippopolis-Stara Zagora line, across the main continental line to Haskovo, and thence to Porto Lagos on the Aegean Sea. The line was being surveyed in 1913, and the cost, including two tunnels, was estimated at from £1,000,000 to £1,500,000 sterling. By means of this line, supplemented by a bridge over the Danube at Sistov or Nikopol, it was hoped that Bulgaria would provide an important artery for commerce from southern Russia and Rumania to the Mediterranean.

2. From Sofia down the Valley of Roses to Kazanlik and Slivno.

3. From Aitos to Shumla. Construction was to be begun on this line in 1918.

4. From Slivno to Shumla.

5. From Kaspichan to Silistria (Dobruja) (gauge uncertain).

6. From Yambolia to Adrianople (narrow gauge).

In 1912 the Bulgarian railways possessed 212 engines, 335 passenger wagons with accommodation for 15,415 passengers, and 4,605 trucks of a capacity of 63,355 tons. The rolling stock was said to be quite inadequate to the economic needs of the country. The fuel used was chiefly coal; wood and oil are also used to a limited extent. In 1911 the railways consumed 153,000 metric tons of coal and 532 metric tons of oil.

The traffic on the railways has largely increased in recent years, as is seen by the following figures:

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Number of passengers.</i> | <i>Merchandise in metric tons.</i> | <i>Gross receipts. Leva.¹</i> | <i>Gross expenses. Leva.</i> | <i>Net receipts. Leva.</i> |
|--------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1905 | 1,349,550 | 1,274,555 | 11,170,970 | 7,372,105 | 3,798,865 |
| 1909 | 2,830,593 | 1,591,995 | 19,830,200 | 13,873,687 | 5,956,513 |
| 1910 | 3,069,917 | 1,670,687 | 22,632,959 | 15,392,711 | 7,240,248 |
| 1911 | 3,489,372 | 2,592,087 | 27,674,597 | 17,427,039 | 10,247,558 |

The principal railway repair shops are at Sofia (employing about 650 men), Gorni Orehovitsa, Burgas, Karagach (near Adrianople), and Dedeagach.

According to official figures, the proportion the net receipts bear to the capital employed averages about 2 per cent. per annum, but as the amount of capital is estimated by the addition yearly of the sums expended in construction, rolling stock, and upkeep, and no annual sums are set aside for depreciation, renewals, &c., the calculation cannot be considered trustworthy.

(d) Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones

In 1913 there were in Bulgaria 2,342 post offices, which in that year dealt with a total of 43,006,000 letters, 23,793,000 postcards, and 28,924,000 newspapers. There were also 397 telegraph offices, with 3,201 miles of line and 11,152 miles of wire, the wires being mostly above ground. The number of telegrams

¹ The lev = 1 franc.

dispatched in that year was 3,045,558. The telephone systems numbered 42, with 1,156 miles of line and 4,838 miles of wire.

(2) EXTERNAL

(a) Ports

Danubian Ports.

The Bulgarian ports on the Danube contain only moderate accommodation for vessels and primitive means of dealing with cargoes. Before the European War the Bulgarian Government was beginning to spend money on the improvement of its Danube ports; and between 1907 and 1911 considerable sums were voted for construction work at Sistov, Ruschuk, Vidin, &c., but much still remains to be done.

RUSCHUK (or Russé), 309 miles above Sulina. Population 33,600, of whom 9,000 are Turks, 1,200 Jews, and 1,000 Armenians.

In addition to the railways there are the following good roads: South-east to Varna; North-east to Turtucaia (Dobruja); South to Trnovo, with a branch going west to Plevna. There is a steamboat service with Giurgiu in Rumania, on the opposite bank.

Ruschuk is the chief Bulgarian port on the Danube. The depth of water at the port is about 25 ft., but only when water in the river is very high can vessels of between 600 and 700 tons reach Ruschuk. A wharf is being constructed. The railway station has considerable accommodation for rolling stock.

Trade for 1910 and 1911, according to official returns:

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Cargo discharged. tons.</i> | <i>Cargo loaded. tons.</i> | <i>Passengers landed.</i> | <i>Passengers embarked.</i> |
|--------------|--|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1910 | 55,149 | 50,487 | 31,763 | 33,086 |
| 1911 | 70,058 | 66,858 | 33,884 | 36,388 |

SISTOV, 345 miles above Sulina. Population 13,408, including 3,000 Turks. There is a railway to Levski and a second-class road south-east to the Plevna-Ruschuk road. There is an anchorage opposite to the town.

Trade for 1910 and 1911, according to official returns:

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Cargo discharged. tons.</i> | <i>Cargo loaded. tons.</i> | <i>Passengers landed.</i> | <i>Passengers embarked.</i> |
|--------------|--|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1910 | 31,300 | 23,346 | 13,379 | 17,913 |
| 1911 | 34,871 | 40,111 | 11,236 | 12,000 |

NIKOPOL, 372 miles above Sulina. Population about 10,000, of whom a large number are Turks. There is no railway, but there are two second-class roads to Sistov and Plevna. There is a steamer station and anchorage, and a ferry to Turnu-Magurele (Rumania).

Trade for 1910 and 1911, according to official returns:

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Cargo discharged. tons.</i> | <i>Cargo loaded. tons.</i> | <i>Passengers landed.</i> | <i>Passengers embarked.</i> |
|--------------|--|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1910 | 5,566 | 10,301 | 7,934 | 9,334 |
| 1911 | 7,529 | 14,442 | 9,592 | 8,927 |

SAMOVID, 378 miles above Sulina. There is a railway to Yasen, but no good road. There is a steamer station and anchorage. The railway station is near the steamer station.

Trade for 1910 and 1911, according to official returns:

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Cargo discharged. tons.</i> | <i>Cargo loaded. tons.</i> | <i>Passengers landed.</i> | <i>Passengers embarked.</i> |
|--------------|--|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1910 | 36,615 | 15,897 | 29,215 | 35,442 |
| 1911 | 46,419 | 33,010 | 29,372 | 29,662 |

RAHOVO, 423 miles above Sulina. Population about 7,000. There is a second-class road to Vratsa, but no railway. The town has no harbour of importance.

Trade for 1910 and 1911, according to official returns :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Cargo discharged.</i> | <i>Cargo loaded.</i> | <i>Passengers landed.</i> | <i>Passengers embarked.</i> |
|--------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | <i>tons.</i> | <i>tons.</i> | | |
| 1910 | 9,825 | 54,161 | 11,201 | 12,038 |
| 1911 | 11,723 | 55,740 | 14,898 | 15,247 |

LOM PALANKA, 462 miles above Sulina. Population about 11,000. It is stated in German papers that this port has greatly increased in importance since the outbreak of war, owing to the impossibility of using the railway from Sofia to Belgrade for commercial traffic. There is communication by rail with Mezdra on the line from Sofia to Plevna and by road to Sofia and the Serbian frontier. There is a steamer station and anchorage.

Trade for 1910 and 1911, according to official returns :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Cargo discharged.</i> | <i>Cargo loaded.</i> | <i>Passengers landed.</i> | <i>Passengers embarked.</i> |
|--------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | <i>tons.</i> | <i>tons.</i> | | |
| 1910 | 27,128 | 44,780 | 21,696 | 24,573 |
| 1911 | 19,676 | 39,795 | 22,013 | 23,990 |

VIDIN, 492 miles above Sulina. Population 16,500, including 3,000 Turks and 1,500 Jews. There is a railway to Mezdra on the Sofia-Plevna line, and roads into Serbia. There is connexion by ferry with Calafat, on the Rumanian railway system, which lies 5 kilometres up stream. There is a steamer station and ferry, and winter quarters for vessels of light draught.

Trade for 1910 and 1911, according to official returns :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Cargo discharged.</i> | <i>Cargo loaded.</i> | <i>Passengers landed.</i> | <i>Passengers embarked.</i> |
|--------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | <i>tons.</i> | <i>tons.</i> | | |
| 1910 | 18,463 | 40,306 | 23,630 | 23,806 |
| 1911 | 18,811 | 70,959 | 25,694 | 26,888 |

Black Sea Ports.

According to Bulgarian official statistics there are six ports on the Black Sea. Of these, Bela, Mishevriya, Ahillo, and Sozopol are unimportant, the ships which call there being small coasting vessels, many of which are sailing craft. They do not average as much as 200 tons. The total amount of cargo loaded and discharged at these ports represents less than 5 per cent. of the total trade done from Black Sea ports.

The only ports of value are Varna and Burgas. Down to 1908 the Bulgarian Government did all it could to attract trade to Varna at the expense of Burgas, as the railway serving Burgas belonged to the Imperial Ottoman system, whereas the railway serving Varna has always been part of the Bulgarian State Railway system. It is probable that the trade of Burgas will improve; and the future of Varna depends upon whether the Dobruja is to be Rumanian property after the war, as a large quantity of the cereals shipped from Varna came from this district.

VARNA.—At the mouth of the Provadi Dere. Population about 41,000.

The harbour is one of the safest anchorages in the Black Sea. It possesses a quay, 220 metres in length, with $4\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms of water alongside, equipped with two cranes of a lifting capacity of 10 tons and 40 tons respectively, and one floating crane (privately owned) of a lifting capacity of 35 tons. The accommodation has recently been increased by a canal, 16 ft. deep and $98\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide, which connects the harbour with Lake Devna lying west of the town. Additional quays are being provided along the canal. As it is never ice-bound, the port, during the winter months, should attract trade from the Danube by rail from Ruschuk.

The following are the official returns of the shipping and trade of Varna for the years 1910 and 1911 :

| Year. | <i>Entered.</i> | | | <i>Cleared.</i> | | |
|-------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| | <i>Number of vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> | <i>Cargo landed. Metric tons.</i> | <i>Number of vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> | <i>Cargo loaded. Metric tons.</i> |
| 1910 | 2,025 | 1,004,197 | 133,703 | 2,019 | 1,006,151 | 137,024 |
| 1911 | 1,915 | 1,053,293 | 163,231 | 1,919 | 1,052,102 | 277,708 |

These vessels sailed under the following flags :

| | <i>Entered.</i> | | <i>Cleared.</i> | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Number of vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> | <i>Number of vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> |
| 1910. | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 76 | 135,273 | 75 | 134,080 |
| Austria . . . | 131 | 214,299 | 131 | 214,299 |
| Belgium . . . | 16 | 23,621 | 17 | 25,338 |
| Bulgaria . . . | 753 | 120,352 | 750 | 122,025 |
| France . . . | 41 | 62,180 | 41 | 62,180 |
| Germany . . . | 64 | 100,355 | 64 | 100,355 |
| Greece . . . | 189 | 107,437 | 189 | 107,090 |
| Holland . . . | 24 | 41,409 | 24 | 41,409 |
| Russia . . . | 136 | 149,541 | 137 | 150,261 |
| Turkey . . . | 584 | 34,375 | 580 | 33,759 |
| Other countries . | 11 | 15,355 | 11 | 15,355 |

| | <i>Entered.</i> | | <i>Cleared.</i> | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Number of vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> | <i>Number of vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> |
| 1911. | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 116 | 202,749 | 115 | 200,521 |
| Austria . . . | 141 | 240,848 | 141 | 240,848 |
| Belgium . . . | 8 | 13,118 | 8 | 13,118 |
| Bulgaria . . . | 676 | 111,762 | 679 | 112,105 |
| France . . . | 31 | 50,470 | 31 | 50,470 |
| Germany . . . | 52 | 87,138 | 52 | 87,138 |
| Greece . . . | 283 | 184,300 | 284 | 184,684 |
| Holland . . . | 18 | 31,965 | 18 | 31,965 |
| Russia . . . | 84 | 85,729 | 84 | 85,729 |
| Turkey . . . | 490 | 22,301 | 491 | 22,611 |
| Other countries . | 16 | 22,913 | 16 | 22,913 |

BURGAS.—In the gulf of the same name. Population about 13,000.

The length of the quays is 1,966 ft., and there are two berths for steamers to load grain. The depth of water at the bar and alongside the quays is 25 ft., so that vessels up to 6,000 tons can take full cargoes direct from the quays. Vessels can load from 1,000 to

1,200 tons of cereals a day. Two other quays, each 2,294 ft. long, are being constructed. There is an excellent supply of fresh water to the harbour, and the railway comes down to the quays. Nevertheless, as regards accommodation for steamers and facilities for handling cargo, Burgas is insufficiently equipped according to modern standards.

The following are the official returns of the shipping and trade of Burgas for the years 1910 and 1911 :

| Year. | <i>Entered.</i> | | | <i>Cleared.</i> | | |
|-------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| | <i>Number of vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> | <i>Cargo landed. Metric tons.</i> | <i>Number of vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> | <i>Cargo loaded. Metric tons.</i> |
| 1910 | 2,610 | 762,230 | 117,568 | 2,604 | 759,986 | 113,367 |
| 1911 | 2,161 | 819,277 | 142,706 | 2,149 | 808,778 | 243,519 |

These vessels sailed under the following flags :

| | <i>Entered.</i> | | <i>Cleared.</i> | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Number of vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> | <i>Number of vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> |
| 1910. | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 46 | 82,914 | 44 | 79,653 |
| Austria | 111 | 168,319 | 112 | 168,854 |
| Belgium | 13 | 20,112 | 13 | 20,112 |
| Bulgaria | 1,678 | 74,768 | 1,673 | 74,715 |
| France | 42 | 63,804 | 42 | 63,804 |
| Germany | 60 | 93,690 | 60 | 93,690 |
| Greece | 166 | 94,158 | 164 | 93,676 |
| Holland | 22 | 38,759 | 22 | 38,759 |
| Russia | 88 | 98,781 | 88 | 98,781 |
| Turkey | 369 | 9,700 | 370 | 9,718 |
| Other countries | 15 | 17,198 | 16 | 18,224 |

| | <i>Entered.</i> | | <i>Cleared.</i> | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Number of vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> | <i>Number of vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> |
| 1911. | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 72 | 124,229 | 69 | 117,460 |
| Austria | 110 | 169,550 | 110 | 169,550 |
| Belgium | 6 | 9,615 | 6 | 9,615 |
| Bulgaria | 1,061 | 72,708 | 1,056 | 70,715 |
| France | 35 | 56,532 | 35 | 56,532 |
| Germany | 49 | 81,951 | 49 | 81,951 |
| Greece | 267 | 166,604 | 269 | 167,085 |
| Holland | 15 | 26,462 | 15 | 26,462 |
| Russia | 72 | 67,219 | 72 | 67,219 |
| Turkey | 451 | 13,549 | 446 | 12,362 |
| Other countries | 23 | 30,858 | 22 | 29,825 |

Aegean Ports.

DEDEAGACH.—To the west of the mouth of the River Maritsa. Population about 4,000. The town is connected by rail with the main line from Salonika to Adrianople.

There is at present no harbour of any consequence, the port being an open roadstead, and the water is so shallow inshore that vessels have to anchor over half a mile out, and load from and discharge into lighters. The anchorage is unsheltered from the south, and in bad weather communication with the shore is at times impossible. There is a boat-harbour, 138 yds. long and 95 yds. wide, protected, except from the south-east, by a concrete wall. There is one crane of a lifting capacity of 2 tons. On the quay-side are iron sheds for storing grain. There are eight iron piers, 90 ft. long and 10 ft. broad, which are used for loading and discharging lighters. There is also a small railway pier to the west of the town.

PORTO LAGOS (Kara Agach).—A small port at the head of the bay of the same name, on the shore of a lagoon opening into the marshy lake of Buru. It is well sheltered. The town has no railway, but it has good roads to Xanthi and Gumuljina. Only small craft can load at the quay. Before the entry of Bulgaria into the war, it was intended to develop the port as a centre for export trade to the Aegean; but before it could become commercially important a large outlay of money would be necessary. The district is stated to be unhealthy.

(b) Shipping Lines

The mercantile marine of Bulgaria is small, and in 1913 (according to statistics prepared by the Bureau Veritas) comprised only eight vessels of more

than 100 tons, viz. 5 steamers with a total net tonnage of 2,776 tons and 3 sailing vessels with a total net tonnage of 402 tons.

Bulgarian Steam Navigation Co.—This is the only steamship line now receiving subsidies from the Government. It has local services on the Danube, and also plies between Varna, Burgas, and Constantinople. The Bulgarian Government owns one-fourth of the capital stock, and under the original arrangement paid the company an annual subsidy equal to 9 per cent. of the paid-up capital stock, or about 180,000 leva. In return the company was to carry the mail free of charge, and to transport soldiers, state employees, and munitions at half the usual rates. This subsidy is now paid on a mileage basis, and varies from 2 to 5 francs a mile.¹ The amount of the subsidy paid in recent years was approximately :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Leva.</i> |
|----------------|--------------|
| 1907 | 368,000 |
| 1908 | 478,000 |
| 1909 | 383,000 |
| 1910 | 329,000 |
| 1911 | 386,000 |
| 1912 | 332,000 |

Before 1910 Governmentsubsidieswere also paid to the French Fraissinet Line and to the German Levant Line.

English Lines.—Johnston Line and Westcott & Laurance Line, the former of which plied regularly and the latter irregularly between Liverpool, London, Antwerp, &c., and Burgas, Varna, and the ports of Rumania. Before the European War both these companies had an arrangement with the Bulgarian Government which enabled them to quote through rates from the United Kingdom to any town in Bulgaria.

¹ From the *Report on Bounties and Subsidies in respect of Ship-building, Shipping and Navigation in Foreign Countries*, 1913.

Austrian Lines.—Austrian Lloyd Steam Navigation Co., a regular line between the Mediterranean and the Bulgarian Black Sea ports.

French Lines.—Fraissinet & Co., whose ships plied regularly between the Mediterranean and Bulgarian Black Sea ports.

Russian Lines.—The Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Co., trading between Odessa, Rumanian and Bulgarian Black Sea ports, and Constantinople.

Greek Lines.—Navigation Hellénique (John MacDowall), which had regular services between Burgas and Varna and Mediterranean ports.

(c) Cables

In 1914 there was only one cable between Bulgaria and foreign countries, viz. from Varna to Sevastopol.

At the same date there were no stations for wireless telegraphy in the kingdom.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) GENERAL POSITION OF BULGARIAN INDUSTRY : INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION

Although several kinds of handicraft have been established in the country for many years, the industries of Bulgaria, apart from agriculture, are even to-day very few and simple. In fact, it may be said that Bulgaria is only now emerging from the period of transition from domestic handicraft to the factory system; and in certain parts of the country there is still a considerable amount of primitive manufacture by the old-fashioned methods. The State, however, since the establishment of the kingdom of Bulgaria, has always been alive to the importance of encouraging modern methods, and by a succession of special laws has endeavoured to arrive

at the best ways of stimulating industry. But except in the textile industry, which had long existed as a domestic industry in many parts, progress has been slow. This is due partly to the national dislike of foreign innovations, and partly to the strong hold on the national life of the *zadruga* or home community system, under which three or four families of peasants combine in a species of primitive co-operative society, and till their lands and make the articles necessary for their own simple wants. Originally State assistance was only granted in the case of certain manufactures, such as glass, textiles, soap, sugar, paper, metal goods, &c., but in 1897 the privileges were extended to industries of a partially agricultural character. The law on the subject now in force was passed in 1909, being an extension of a comprehensive enactment of 1904. The most important provisions of the law of 1909 'For the encouragement of Native Industries and Trade' are as follows :

1. The establishment of an Industrial Council whose duty it is to advise the Minister of Industry and Commerce as to the granting of privileges.

2. The grant of certain privileges to concerns which—

- (a) use mechanical power of not less than 10 h.-p. ;

- (b) have invested in machinery not less than 20,000 leva ;

- (c) employ not less than 10 workmen for at least six months of the year.

3. The following are the privileges obtainable by all industrial enterprises which comply with the conditions mentioned above and by all agricultural undertakings :

- i. Free grant of water-power.

- ii. Free import of machinery, if such machinery is not manufactured in the country.

- iii. Free import of raw material.

- iv. Free grant of land for factory sites.

- v. Reduction of 35 per cent. on railway rates.
 - vi. Preference over foreign goods for the supply of the requirements of public offices and State, district and municipal authorities.
4. Concerns engaged in any one of eleven specified branches of industry, provided they employ not less than 50 workmen during the whole year, and provided they possess mechanical machinery of a value of not less than 150,000 leva, can obtain by the vote of the National Assembly, for a period not to extend beyond 1925, the exclusive right to carry on that industry within a particular area consisting of two or three districts. The industries to which this special privilege is accorded are :

- i. The manufacture of articles of food, except flour-milling and distilling.
- ii. Textile industries, except wool-weaving.
- iii. Mining.
- iv. Metal industries.
- v. Quarrying, &c.
- vi. Chemical industries.
- vii. Tanning.
- viii. The manufacture of wooden goods.
- ix. The manufacture of paper.
- x. The electrical industry, especially the production of electric power.
- xi. Co-operative societies for production founded by artisans.

That these enactments have greatly stimulated industrial enterprise is shown by the figures given below. The number of concerns entitled to benefit under them has grown as follows :

| 1897. | 1900. | 1904. | 1909. | 1911. | 1912. |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 151 | 175 | 196 | 266* | 347* | 389* |

* Including 5 Government establishments in 1909 and 1911, and 8 in 1912.

In 1909 and 1912 these concerns were distributed among the various industries as follows :

| | 1909. | 1912. |
|--|-------|-------|
| Production of food-stuffs, beer, and alcohol . | 100 | 158 |
| Textile industry | 61 | 76 |
| Chemical industry | 25 | 30 |
| Leather industry | 22 | 28 |
| Metal industry | 16 | 31 |
| Wood industry | 18 | 22 |
| Ceramic industry | 10 | 24 |
| Mining and quarrying | 4 | 4 |
| Paper manufacture | 3 | 6 |
| Generation of electric power | 2 | 2 |

In the food industry the principal increase occurred in the number of flour mills.

The fixed capital invested in these enterprises in 1909 (which is the latest date for which figures are available) amounted to about 80,000,000 leva, of which 14,649,000 leva was foreign capital. The bulk of the foreign capital invested in the industries of the country is Belgian.

The number of employees in manufacturing industries in Bulgaria in 1912 was slightly under 15,600.

The transition from domestic handicraft to the factory system has not been effected without creating certain familiar economic difficulties. For instance, information furnished by the Chamber of Commerce of Sofia shows that, whereas in 1876 there were in that town about 60 soap boilers, in 1906 only 4 or 5 remained, although the population had in the interval quadrupled. At Stara Zagora there are to-day only about 20 weaving sheds for coarse cloth in place of over 2,000 in early days. Similar examples could be drawn from any of the trades which have been captured by the new methods of production. The decline of handicraft and the eclipse of the individual by machinery has made the position of the work-people difficult, and the

employment of women and children and the reduction of workmen's wages have aggravated their hardships. The Bulgarian Government has, however, taken the matter in hand, and labour legislation has already been passed to meet the difficulties.

(2) LABOUR

(a) *Supply of Labour and Labour Conditions*

The labour market is largely regulated by the fact that the Bulgarian is first and foremost a farmer, and any work he undertakes away from his farm is undertaken subject to the condition that he is to be allowed to return when necessary for tilling the ground and sowing or harvesting his crops. Consequently, Bulgarian industrial legislation, though insisting on the employment of Bulgarians, does not make a condition that Bulgarian labour shall be employed in factories for more than six months in the year, and a considerable proportion of the labourers employed in factories consists of Greeks and Armenians and to a less extent of other foreigners.

The Bulgarian labourer is among the most industrious in Europe, and, when not occupied on his farm, he will go abroad in search of work. Bulgarians readily obtained employment for a portion of the year in Turkey, Serbia, and Rumania, and even so far afield as Austria and South Russia where they were largely employed as gardeners. Labour is obtained either by the employment of individuals, or from the head of a village, who undertakes to supply as many labourers as are required, and who is responsible for their behaviour and efficiency, and sometimes even occupies the position of contractor and makes his own arrangements with his gang. Much of the cultivated land in Bulgaria lies in high altitudes, and consequently

the crops ripen at different times, and a gang of labourers will travel from one place to another gathering the crops as they are ready for cutting. There is no scarcity of labour; for normal work the rate of pay is about two shillings a day, but harvest work is always paid by the piece. The Bulgarian works long hours, and a gang of labourers will live practically in the open on the ground where they are working, and work from early morning to late evening.

(b) *Emigration and Immigration*

A certain amount of emigration to the United States takes place, but no precise figures can be given. The Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Immigration groups together the immigrants coming from Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro. The figures given below are small; and it is probably reasonable to believe that a larger proportion came from Serbia and Montenegro than from Bulgaria.

The following table shows the number of emigrants from Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro to the U.S.A., and of persons returning from the U.S.A. to these countries :

| <i>Year</i> | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Entered U.S.A. . | 4,737 | 4,695 | 4,447 | 1,753 | 9,189 | 1,403 |
| Left U.S.A. . | 1,566 | 3,154 | 3,577 | 9,664 | 2,553 | 1,964 |

Since 1878 a considerable exodus of the Turkish population has been going on. In 20 years (1879-99) at least 150,000 Turkish peasants left Bulgaria. This emigration was still going on recently, in spite of the efforts of the Bulgarian Government to arrest its progress. Since 1879 a considerable influx of Bulgarians from Macedonia, the vilayet of Adrianople, Bessarabia, and the Dobruja has taken place. A certain number of Greeks have come into the country in recent years for

trading purposes. Probably about one-third of the Rumanian inhabitants of Bulgaria were born in Rumania.

(3) AGRICULTURE

The Bulgarians are essentially a peasant people, and nearly the whole population is occupied in some form of agriculture. Though there are in Bulgaria more than 40 towns with a population of over 5,000 inhabitants, 80 per cent. of the population of the country is rural, and practically all its exports are derived from agricultural pursuits.

The total area of Bulgaria before the Balkan Wars was 9,634,000 hectares; of this 4,077,000 hectares, or roughly 42 per cent., was under cultivation in 1912. The cultivation of cereals, of which the most important are wheat, maize, barley, rye, and oats, accounted for over 2,500,000 hectares, and pasture land and forage crops for 558,000 hectares. The area under vines was 61,500 hectares, and that under plants of industrial value, fruit trees, &c., amounted to 186,000 hectares. The chief of such plants are linseed, colza, sesame, tobacco, and hemp. Plums, raisins, and melons are largely cultivated, the last-mentioned being an important item in the diet of the Bulgarian peasant.

Particulars as to the area under cultivation for different crops are given in Tables I and II in the Appendix.

(a) *Products of commercial value, vegetable and animal*

Cereals.—Of these by far the most important is wheat; and the area under this has increased somewhat in recent years. Next in importance is maize, after which come barley, oats, and rye.

The most important agricultural region is the land between the Balkan Range and the River Danube, which produces considerably more than half of the

wheat and maize grown in the country. Wheat is the chief product of this region, except in the west, where maize predominates, as climatic conditions are more favourable for its growth; barley and oats are of considerably less importance. Wheat and maize are also extensively grown on the lower slopes of both sides of the Balkan Mountains, in the valley of the upper Tunja, and on the plains and lowlands of Eastern Rumelia. Barley, rye, and oats are cultivated chiefly in the departments of Sofia and Kustendil, though these crops are grown in all agricultural districts.¹

Flour-milling is a most important industry. In addition to hundreds of small mills for local needs, there are 110 corn-mills entitled to the benefits of the industrial law (see p. 82). These are mostly situated at the large distributing centres. In 1911 the output of the mills was valued at 44,654,000 leva. About 40 per cent. of the output was sold abroad.

Cheese.—Bulgaria produces a cheese called *kachkaval*, of which Turkey purchases almost the whole export. From 1907 to 1911, the average annual value of the cheese exported was 3,157,000 leva. The cheese is nearly all produced in the eastern districts, especially at Varna, Ahillo, Burgas, Aitos, and Kotel.

Cotton.—This is grown in the departments of Burgas, Philippopolis, and Stara Zagora, the last-named being by far the most important. The total area under this crop has during recent years never reached 1,000 hectares, and the production of cotton has not yet reached 250,000 kilos annually.

Live-stock.—The rearing of live-stock, particularly sheep, constitutes an important branch of rural industry, but the area of ground under pasture tends to diminish. To meet the demands for forage, however, the cultivation of vetches and lucerne has increased

¹ See Appendix, Table II.

in recent years. Bulgaria does a large trade in the export of live animals, but has at present only an insignificant trade in meat. To improve the breed of animals there are several large Government stations for stallions, and other stations for cattle breeding. The census of live animals taken in 1900 and 1910 gave the following results :

| | 1900. | 1910. |
|---------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Horses | 494,557 | 478,222 |
| Mules | 8,887 | 12,238 |
| Donkeys | 108,098 | 118,488 |
| Cattle | 1,596,267 | 1,606,363 |
| Buffaloes | 431,487 | 412,978 |
| Sheep | 7,015,385 | 8,669,260 |
| Goats | 1,405,190 | 1,464,719 |
| Pigs | 367,501 | 527,311 |
| Poultry | 4,751,751 | 8,688,853 |

Poultry farming is an important industry, and Bulgaria does a large trade in the export of eggs. The centre of this trade is Sofia: from 1902 to 1911 it averaged over 9,000,000 leva in value, and is on the increase. Most of the eggs went *via* Germany to Belgium, and ultimately reached London; Austria-Hungary was the next best customer.

Rice.—Rice has been cultivated in Bulgaria for many years. It is produced to a small extent in the department of Kustendil, but is mostly grown in the department of Philippopolis, where some irrigation is possible. The following figures show the area under cultivation for this crop and the production for the years 1905–11 :

| | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. |
|------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Hectares . | 2,955 | 2,376 | 2,358 | 2,386 | 3,903 | 3,274 | 2,319 |
| Quintals . | 49,433 | 37,216 | 35,193 | 28,740 | 51,827 | 46,448 | 30,239 |

There are rice-mills at Philippopolis and Tatar-Pazarjik.

Rose-growing.—The cultivation of roses is a national industry of considerable importance. The roses are

used exclusively for the distillation of attar or essence of roses, which is an important ingredient in the scents used all over the world, and the product finds a ready market in the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Germany, Russia, and Turkey.

Three distinct products are obtained: rose water, rose oil, and rose wax. The oil is the most important of the three, and it requires approximately 40 kilogrammes of petals to produce 4 to 5 grammes of oil.

The industry is confined to the valley lying between the main Balkan Range and the Sredna Gora and Srna Gora Mountains, the chief centres of industry being Kazanlik, Karlovo, Klisura, and Stara Zagora. The area under cultivation for roses has steadily increased, and in 1912 amounted to 7,900 hectares. The roses cultivated are a red rose (*Rosa damascena*) and a white rose (*Rosa alba*); the red rose is the more satisfactory. Female labour is chiefly employed. The export of essence of roses, which in 1894 was valued at 387,000 leva, has in recent years reached the following figures:

| | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. |
|--------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Leva . | 4,521,000 | 4,642,000 | 4,231,000 | 5,328,000 | 5,492,000 | 7,404,000 |

The price of the essence has also greatly increased, and in 1911 amounted to over 1,800 leva per kilo. In consequence of this the practice of adulterating the essence with oil of geranium has become common, and the authorities, being unable to prevent the smuggling of oil of geranium, contemplate withdrawing the prohibition against the import of this commodity, so that the mixture may become a recognized article of commerce and buyers may take precautions accordingly.

A large distillery on modern lines, erected some years ago at Karlovo with French capital, does not appear to have been successful; but it is stated that recently

Germany has introduced new methods with good results.

Sericulture.—The efforts of the Government have brought about a considerable expansion of this industry. Large numbers of women and children receive Government instruction in the breeding of silk-worms and the handling of cocoons. The Government further supervises the distribution of healthy eggs, which are now for the most part bred in the country instead of being imported, and has attempted to supply the scarcity of food for the worms—the chief hindrance to breeding—by founding schools of instruction in mulberry-growing. The chief centres of the industry are the departments of Burgas, Philippopolis, and Stara Zagora in Old Bulgaria, and the neighbourhood of Suflı (on the lower Maritsa) in the new territory.

The total area of the mulberry plantations in 1912 was 2,866 hectares; the total value of the crop for 1911 was 608,410 leva. The yield of mulberry leaves, a most important factor in the breeding industry, increased from about 20,000 quintals in 1905 to about 90,000 in 1911.

It is stated by competent authorities that Bulgarian cocoons are the best in the world, owing to the freshness and strength of leaf which the mulberry tree maintains in Eastern Rumelia throughout the summer. The silk made from these cocoons has the advantage of retaining its tenacity and twist of thread when exposed to vapour heat. The quantity of cocoons fluctuated only slightly between the years 1905 and 1914, the average yearly weight being 1,548,000 kilos. Formerly the cocoons were all exported (chiefly to Italy), but in recent years a little silk has been reeled in the country, and in 1910 the value of the raw silk exported reached almost 100,000 leva. That of the cocoons exported in the same year amounted to upwards of 3,600,000 leva.

Sugar Beet.—The cultivation of beetroot for sugar has only been introduced in recent years, and for some time was confined to the department of Sofia. It is now being grown in many places, the largest centres of production being the provinces of Kustendil, Sofia, Vratsa, Plevna, and Trnovo. The area under cultivation increased from 1,600 hectares in 1905 to about 3,300 hectares in 1912, and the production from 22,100 metric tons to 65,200. The amount of sugar (in kilos) manufactured from beetroot during the period 1905–11 is shown by the following figures :

| 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 3,268,429 | 2,657,712 | 6,241,819 | 3,630,318 | 3,198,901 | 3,950,113 | 5,440,439 |

The production of sugar in Bulgaria is as yet far below the country's requirements ; the average annual import during the same period was over 10,000 metric tons.

Tobacco.—Before the last Balkan War tobacco was produced in almost every part of Bulgaria, the chief centres being Philippopolis, Kustendil, and Stara Zagora. It was of a coarse and cheap quality and of little value for export ; the crops varied greatly from year to year and from one district to another. This tobacco fetched a poor price (about 2½ leva a kilo), and was often mixed with Turkish and Virginian tobacco to form a cheap blend.

The newly acquired territories have greatly increased the value of the tobacco industry. It is true that the former Bulgarian Dobruja, which was ceded to Rumania, contributed 15 per cent. of the exports of tobacco grown in the country ; but the tobacco-growing districts round Xanthi and Gumuljina, in the new Bulgarian territories, are capable of producing some of the finest tobacco in the world. Under Turkish rule roughly 8,000 hectares were planted with tobacco, yielding on an average 66,000 quintals a year, which

is only 25 per cent. of the potential output, but in the hands of the industrious Bulgarians the production is likely to be very largely increased. The Ottoman Régie concession, which affected the tobacco industry in the new territory, expired in March 1914 and was not renewed. Tobacco of an inferior quality is also cultivated in the neighbourhood of Nevrokop, Jumaya, Strumitsa, and Petrich, and with efficient management the quality might be greatly improved.

The Xanthi brand, 'Fleur de Xanthi', is considered to be the finest in Europe: it has steadily increased in quality and value, and in 1911 sold for 7 francs a kilo, as compared with 4 francs a kilo for other brands of tobacco in European Turkey. Properly developed, therefore, the cultivation of tobacco should become one of the most profitable branches of Bulgarian agriculture. The largest concern engaged in the tobacco industry of Old Bulgaria is the Société Anonyme Fabriques de Tabac Réunies, of Philippopolis, whose capital of 5,000,000 leva is largely held by the French Banque de l'Union Parisienne. It is stated that over £500,000 of British money is invested in the cultivation of tobacco in the new territories.

The following table shows the area under cultivation and the yield of the crops for the years 1905-14:

| | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. |
|--------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Area (Hectares) . | 5,592 | 7,018 | 5,787 | 4,880 | 5,448 |
| Yield (Quintals) . | 39,180 | 64,277 | 40,894 | 34,504 | 35,468 |
| Averages: 5,745; 42,860. | | | | | |

| | 1910. | 1911. | 1912. | 1913. | 1914. |
|---------------------------|--------|---------|--------|---------|----------|
| Area (Hectares) . | 7,789 | 12,123 | 8,891 | *7,000 | *15,000 |
| Yield (Quintals) . | 63,248 | 106,473 | 58,125 | *60,000 | *150,000 |
| Averages: 10,160; 87,570. | | | | | |

* Approximate figures only.

The Government encourages the cultivation of tobacco by distributing seed of good quality free of cost

to the growers, by a bounty on exports, and by giving financial facilities to growers through the medium of the National Bank.

(b) *Methods of Cultivation*

The soil is extremely fertile, as will be seen from Table II in the Appendix, which shows the areas under different crops, the total yield, and the yield per hectare and per acre. Up to the present the Bulgarian farmer has found little need for artificial manures, and practically the only manures used are such as can be obtained from the homesteads. Little is known about the rotation of crops, and the usual system is to give the land a considerable rest after it has been tilled for several years.

Until recent years the scarcity of modern implements and machinery was one of the chief hindrances to agricultural development. The Bulgarian peasant is naturally conservative; and, though associations for agriculture on the basis of the *zadruga* (see p. 82) have long been customary, even to-day the primitive wooden plough is largely in use. The introduction of modern methods of farming has also been hindered by the small size of the farms (see p. 96), in consequence of which the peasants were often unable to find money for the purchase of modern implements. The State, however, has come to their aid with excellent results. Since 1897 agricultural machinery has been admitted to the country free of duty; and, by means of the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank, farmers are able to obtain credits repayable over a period of years for the purpose of purchasing modern machinery. In consequence the import of agricultural machinery and implements has in recent years enormously increased, its value rising from 1,663,000 leva in 1905 to 6,888,000 leva in 1912. The

State has also done much to assist agriculture by the institution of model farms and agricultural schools.

Oxen and buffaloes are the principal draught animals used in agriculture, Bulgarian horses being unsuitable for agricultural work. In the eastern districts camels are occasionally used.

Except to a small extent in the district of Philipopolis, where rice is grown (see p. 89), irrigation is practically unknown in Bulgaria; and there is no indication that any extensive system of irrigation is necessary in order to render any part of the kingdom fertile.

(c) *Forestry*

The country used to be largely covered by forests, but during the Turkish rule vast areas of forest were destroyed, partly by improvident felling of the timber, and partly in order to clear the ground for agricultural purposes. In 1878 the Bulgarian Government took over the control of the forests, and appointed special keepers. Since then official control of the forests has by degrees become effectual, the process being assisted by a complete survey of the forests which was carried out in 1904, when nurseries were also started for the growth of young trees, and a course of instruction in forestry provided.

To-day the superintendence of forests is in the hands of the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture. The country is divided into four districts, and district inspectors with efficient staffs have been appointed. In 1907 a bureau was formed to superintend the canalization of mountain streams with a view to increasing the means of bringing timber down to the plains.

The total area of the forests of Bulgaria in 1908 was 2,834,000 hectares, of which about 900,000 hectares were owned by the State, and about 1,400,000 hectares

by communes or by schools, churches, and other religious establishments. The State forests are in mountainous regions of the Stara Planina, the Rhodope Range, and the Rila Planina. The forests owned by schools, churches, and religious establishments are mostly in the south and west of the kingdom. Those belonging to individuals, which are small and scattered, are mostly in the plains. The chief deciduous trees are the oak, elm, beech, plane, ash, lime, willow, and poplar. The coniferous trees are the pine and fir. A large portion of the forests consists of beech, which will flourish in high altitudes. The ash and lime forests are chiefly along the Kamchik river. Bulgarian wood is stated to be of an excellent quality.

The production from the forests in the years 1902 and 1911 was as follows :

| | 1902. | 1911. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Wood for building, &c., cubic metres | 382,276 | 526,226 |
| Firewood | 1,406,700 | 2,531,300 |
| Charcoal metric tons | 6,108 | 6,370 |

Down to 1902 the export of timber was on the increase and the import on the decrease. The position has now been reversed, and the import of timber shows in recent years a steady increase. The bulk of the wood cut is used for building or fuel, and there are only a few factories engaged in the manufacture of wooden goods. In addition to more than 600 small saw-mills in the forests, which utilize water-power from the streams and are only run at seasons when this can be obtained, there are important timber-yards at Belovo, Burgas, and Varna.

(d) *Land Tenure*

Peasant proprietorship is universal; and, as the system of land tenure in Bulgaria is based upon the Code Napoléon, the holdings of land tend to become smaller and smaller. The number of holdings in 1897

was 799,588, while according to the statistics for the year 1908 (which are the most recent available) the number of holdings had increased in the latter year to 933,367, out of which only 10,109 holdings exceeded 30 hectares (74 acres) in extent, and of these only 91 exceeded 500 hectares (1,235 acres) in extent. Most of the large estates are owned by monasteries.

(4) MINERALS

In Bulgaria all minerals belong to the State, and the right to work them is obtained by concession subject to the payment of a royalty.

Geologists state that the mineral wealth of Bulgaria is considerable, and there is evidence to show that in olden times much mining of a primitive character was done. At present, with the exception of some of the deposits of coal and copper, the minerals are not being exploited commercially. This is due partly to difficulties with regard to fuel, for though Bulgaria possesses large deposits of coal, its calorific value is so low that without the addition of other fuel it is of little use for treating minerals, and partly to the absence of sufficient railways to render the working of the deposits profitable, but chiefly to the lack of capital in the country and to the national aversion to the intrusion of foreigners.

The following are the chief mineral deposits at present known :

Coal.—Deposits of lignite and brown coal exist in many places in Bulgaria on both sides of the Balkan Mountains, particularly on the western side of the country, but owing to lack of railway communication, many of the deposits cannot yet be worked to any extent.

The following are the official returns of the output

of coal from Bulgaria for various years from 1901 to 1911 :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>State mines. Metric tons.</i> | <i>Private mines. Metric tons.</i> | <i>Total. Metric tons.</i> |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| 1901 . | 138,776 | 5,495 | 144,271 |
| 1905 . | 171,182 | 1,817 | 172,999 |
| 1909 . | 208,587 | 12,967 | 221,554 |
| 1910 . | 225,113 | 14,573 | 239,686 |
| 1911 . | 251,605 | 17,000 | 268,605 |

During the period 1901–11 the annual import of coal and coke has averaged 74,315 metric tons. The import is on the increase.

The following deposits are being worked commercially :

Pernik, south-west of Sofia, on the railway from Sofia to Kustendil. The deposit is stated to be very large and to contain not less than 4,000,000 tons of coal. The analysis of the coal gives :

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Humidity | 14.91 <i>per cent.</i> |
| Ash | 7.08 <i>per cent.</i> |
| Volatile matter | 37.63 <i>per cent.</i> |
| Calories | 5,965 |

Before the war the mines were worked by the State, but it is reported that they are now being worked by a German company.

Bobovdol, near Dupnitsa. This coal is stated to be found in six seams of a thickness varying from 1.5 to 4 metres, all of which have been proved. The mining of the coal has only been undertaken on a large scale since the completion of the railway to Kustendil.

The coal has been analysed with the following result :

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Humidity | 9.98 <i>per cent.</i> |
| Ash | 5.27 <i>per cent.</i> |
| Volatile matter | 40.54 <i>per cent.</i> |
| Fixed carbon | 44.21 <i>per cent.</i> |
| Calories | 5,400 |

These mines are said to have been acquired by the same company that works the Pernik mines. This company is chiefly financed by German and Austrian banks. Its capital is reported to be 7,500,000 leva.

Other deposits of coal are said to exist in the following localities, but the calorific values, as a rule, are low :

At Drenovo, on the Trans-Balkan Railway, south of Trnovo.

Near Trevna, a little farther south of Trnovo. Some work has been done here.

At Gabrovo, on the north slopes of the Balkan Mountains. The analysis of the coal shows a high percentage of volatile matter and fixed carbon, and a calorific value of 6,095.

At Kazanlik, on the southern side of the Balkans. Near Slivno.

At Belogradchik, 25 miles south of Vidin.

Near Vratsa.

In the vicinity of Sofia at Moshino, Buchino, and Vladaya. The calorific value of the coal found here is stated to be about 5,000.

At Gorno Uino, near Kustendil.

At Samokov, 27 miles south-east of Sofia.

Copper.—There are said to be numerous deposits of ore containing high copper values. Though the industry was developing, the production of copper ore had not attained any importance before 1914, the only deposit from which ore was being recovered being that of the Plakalnitsa mine at Zgorigrad near Vratsa. The depth of the mine is 220 ft. It is said to contain lead and some silver as well as copper. The average daily output of ore in 1910–11 was about 60 metric tons, containing on an average 5 to 7 per cent. of copper. The ore is treated at a smelter at Elisena, near the railway. According to reliable information the mine is

now in German hands, and is producing a considerable quantity of the metal. The Germans are stated to be working another deposit near Burgas on the Black Sea, the production of which is also said to be large.

The following deposits of copper are also known :

In the neighbourhood of Belogradchik.

South of Vratsa (copper and zinc).

In the neighbourhood of Sofia.

Near Slivno.

The quantity of copper ore produced in Bulgaria, which was only 160 tons for 1904, amounted to over 19,000 tons for 1909.

Gold.—It is stated that gold has been found near Dupnitsa, Kustendil, and Kazanlik. It is also found in many places in the sand of the rivers. There is no systematic industry. It is stated that there is a gold mine at Glatshonitsa (Salesh district) in New Bulgaria.

Granite is found near Dupnitsa and Kustendil.

Gypsum.—There are said to be deposits near Stara Zagora and Nova Zagora.

Hematite.—A large body of ore has been located at Breznik, 22 miles west of Sofia. The deposit is stated to be from 30 to 40 metres in thickness, and to contain more than a million tons of ore. According to analysis, the ore contains more than 45 per cent. of iron.

Iron.—Deposits of iron are stated to exist in various places, but none are known to have been worked in recent times. The chief deposits are at Kustendil, near Berkovitsa (west of Vratsa on the north slopes of the Stara Planina), and at Kavakli, 30 miles north-west of Adrianople. It is asserted that evidence of the existence of iron deposits has been found near Sofia.

Lead.—Deposits have been found at Berkovitsa and Etropole (in the Balkan Mountains), and near Panagyuriste (north of Tatar-Pazarjik). A body of ore containing lead, zinc, and silver exists near Kustendil.

According to official statistics, a certain amount of lead-mining has been done, the output of lead ore for the years 1909–11 ranging from 3,400 metric tons in 1909 to 7,500 metric tons in 1911.

Magnetite.—This has been worked by the peasants at Samokov on a small scale, but no information is available as to the size or quality of the ore body.

Manganese.—Deposits of this mineral are stated to exist in two localities near Varna on the Black Sea, and from official returns it appears that some prospecting has been done, but no industry is yet established.

Marble.—White and blue marble is found at Berkovitsa. Marble is also to be found in the hills round Gabrovo, near Kazanlik and Nova Zagora, and at Tatar-Pazarjik.

Oil Shale.—A large deposit of oil shale lies about 25 miles south-west of Sofia at a distance of 15 miles north-west of Batanovtsi on the Sofia–Kustendil railway. The deposit has been proved to a certain extent, and is said to contain at least 30,000,000 tons of oil-bearing shales. It has been tested and reported upon by Mr. James Lomax, M.I.M.E., according to whom it compares favourably with all known deposits of shale in the world. A concession to work the deposits was granted to Messrs. Charles Turner and A. H. Jackson by the Bulgarian Government before the outbreak of war, but beyond proving the property, nothing has yet been done towards developing it. Other deposits in the neighbourhood have not yet been proved.

Pyrites.—It is stated that there are deposits of pyrites near Zlatitsa, south of Etropole.

Salt.—At Ahillo on the Black Sea, salt deposits have been worked from remote times. The production varies, the highest return during the period 1902–11 being about 28,000 metric tons for 1909. The average annual production from 1902 to 1911 was about

12,000 metric tons. The import of salt during the same period averaged 34,000 metric tons. There are also deposits at Sozopol. The deposits are worked by private individuals.

Zinc.—It is reported that there is a large body of zinc and lead ore at Lakatnik, south-west of Vratsa.

Mineral Springs.—There are numerous mineral springs in the country, and many of them are used for medicinal purposes. The most important are the following :

Near Burgas (Bains de Aitos). These were famous in Roman times. The water has a temperature of 105° F. (41° C).

At Slivno.

At Hisar, south-west of Karlovo.

At Krasново, north-west of Philippopolis.

At Dolna Banya, Bielchin, and Kostenets, near Samokov.

At Sofia.

At Vrsets, west of Vratsa.

(5) MANUFACTURES

(a) *Metallurgy*

Although official statistics show thirty-one establishments engaged in the metal industry in 1912, the fixed capital invested in these is less than 4,000,000 leva, and the value of the annual production in normal times is only about 3,000,000 leva.

There are ironworks at Varna, Gabrovo, and Vratsa, but none is important. Almost their whole output is consumed in the country, which moreover imported metals and metal goods to an average value of 19,000,000 leva a year between 1907 and 1911. Until Bulgaria's fuel supply is placed on a satisfactory basis, no large development of the metal industry can be expected.

(b) Textiles

In 1912 there were in Bulgaria 76 factories engaged in the textile industry. The total fixed capital employed at that date was 17,400,000 leva, of which 1,280,000 leva was known to be foreign (mainly British) capital. The annual output is steadily increasing. The most important branches of the industry are the manufacture of woollen and cotton yarns and cloths, linen and hempen goods. The total output of textiles for the year 1911 was valued at 21,415,000 leva.

Woollen Goods.—Of the 38 factories engaged in the manufacture of woollen goods, the most important are at Slivno, Kazanlik, Karlovo, and Gabrovo. The chief products are native cloths called *abas* and *shayak*; the former is of a coarser kind than the latter, and is similar in texture to Scottish homespuns. This cloth normally supplies the clothing of the peasants, though in recent years there has been a tendency to abandon the picturesque national dress in favour of cheaper and inferior ready-made clothes imported chiefly from Austria. In addition there is a considerable export, mostly to Serbia and Turkey, but also to Greece and Rumania. Stockings and woollen gloves are also manufactured to a considerable extent.

At Kotel and Panagyuriste there is a considerable manufacture of carpets similar in design and style to the well-known Turkish carpets. These are mostly sold to Turkey. Bulgarian shawls are also famous, and manufactured in large numbers.

Cotton Goods.—In 1912 five factories were engaged in the spinning and weaving of cotton. The most important is the Prince Boris mill at Varna, the property of the National Cotton Spinning Company of Bulgaria, Ltd. This is an English concern, and was founded at the

end of the last century. Its business has been steadily on the increase since 1901, the yarn used being principally American, though latterly Smyrna has also supplied a certain proportion. In 1910 the output reached about 2,500,000 lb. of cotton yarn, and as the mill gets the benefit of the law for the encouragement of native industry, it can compete on favourable terms with foreign imports. Another company holds a concession for the exclusive manufacture of cotton yarns and tissues in the departments of Burgas, Stara Zagora, and Philippopolis, and has recently constructed a mill at Yamboli, but owing to the disturbances caused by the Balkan and European Wars, it is not yet securely established. There is also an important factory at Gabrovo. The *Narodni Prava* (May 4, 1917) states that concessions have recently been granted for the erection of two cotton-mills at Sofia and Gabrovo.

There were in 1912 twelve small factories for the manufacture of hosiery.

Silk.—As previously stated, the manufacture of silk is still in its infancy, and has not yet got beyond the simple reeling of silk from cocoons. There were two factories engaged in this industry in 1912.

Cordage.—In 1912 four factories were engaged in making cordage and twine of different kinds, and the cultivation of hemp is on the increase. The most important factory is near Sofia. The total value of hemp manufactures in 1911 was about 500,000 leva, the whole of which was sold in the country.

Miscellaneous.—There were in 1912 five dye-works, two factories for the production of tapestry, and two for the printing of textiles.

(c) Chemicals

The most important branch of this industry is the manufacture of soap. In 1912 there were in Bulgaria thirteen soap factories receiving assistance under the industrial law. The chief centres of the industry are Burgas, Varna, Ruschuk, Philippopolis, and Sofia.

In other branches of the chemical industry there were five factories for the manufacture of explosives, three for the manufacture of glue, ink, &c., and one for the manufacture of matches, this being a State monopoly.

(d) Miscellaneous

Wine, Spirits, and Beer.—Bulgaria produces a considerable quantity of wine, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Peshtera, Tatar-Pazarjik, Stanimaka, Chirpan, Stara Zagora, and Slivno. Between 60,000 and 70,000 hectares were under vines in 1911, but the area devoted to this crop has shown a steady decrease for some years. The industry has suffered from the diseases known as phylloxera and peronospora. To combat these the State has tried to introduce the American vine, but with only moderate success, owing to the inherent Bulgarian suspicion of foreign innovations. It is stated that, if scientific methods were followed, Bulgarian wine would compete successfully with any in Europe.

In 1912 there were seven distilleries in Bulgaria. According to official figures, the annual production of spirits averaged 3,000,000 litres for the period 1902–11. These figures do not take into account a certain amount of brandy which is produced from wine-lees; on this the State at present charges no duties. The home production of spirits is almost sufficient for the requirements of the country, but there is no export trade.

There were sixteen breweries in the country in 1912, four of them in the department of Sofia. The quantity of beer produced annually increased from 5,000,000 litres in 1902 to 22,000,000 in 1911. This supplies almost the whole demand in the country. There is a small export trade in beer, which in the last few years has slightly exceeded the import of foreign beer. The hops imported come almost entirely from Austria.

Leather.—Of the twenty-eight establishments engaged in the leather industry twenty-six are tanneries, only two being engaged in manufacturing leather goods. The most important tanneries are situated at Slivno, Gabrovo, Kazanlik, Karlovo, Philippopolis, and Sofia.

Bulgaria does a considerable trade in hides and skins, the exports (mainly sheep, lamb, goat, and kid skins) for the period 1907–11 averaging a value of 3,516,000 leva, but during the same period the import of hides and skins (the bulk of which came from France) averaged 2,790,000 leva, and in addition sole leather and ‘uppers’ for boots were imported of an average value of 3,620,000 leva. It is evident, therefore, that there is a large opening for the development of the leather industry in the country.

Manufacture of Wooden Goods.—The total number of factories in 1912 was eighteen, thirteen of which were engaged in the production of house-fittings and furniture of various kinds. The most important are those at Krichim and Dolna Banya (which make window-frames and doors), and the furniture works at Sofia and Panagyuriste. There are also works at Gabrovo which turn out wooden bowls, mortars, &c. The total output of the industry in 1911 was valued at 565,000 leva only, and none was exported.

Cement and Pottery.—In 1912 there were three factories engaged in the manufacture of cement and concrete, one for glass, and twenty for the produc-

tion of bricks and earthenware goods. The capital invested is between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 leva. The chief centres of these industries are Varna, Ruschuk, Plevna, Kazanlik, Panagyuriste, and Sofia. The Isida factory at Novo Selo, the most important in the country, supplies a large proportion of the earthenware used in the country.

(6) POWER

Electricity.—Of the two establishments for the production of electricity, only the one at Sofia is of any importance. Its capital is 6,000,000 leva, all of which is Belgian money.

Employment of Water-power.—Water-power is largely used in Bulgaria for driving saw and corn mills, but there is no evidence that it is otherwise exploited to any extent, and hydro-electric installations are few. According to the official return for 1911, there were seven branches of industry in which hydro-electric installations were used, but the total effective horsepower of the motors driven was under 900.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

(a) *Principal Branches of Trade*

The wants of the Bulgarian being simple, there are not many commodities in which a large home trade is done. The shops in the towns deal mainly in groceries, hardware, clothing, dry goods, and other necessities.

(b) *Towns, Markets, Fairs*

Before railways were developed in the country, fairs were numerous, and every place of any pretensions had its annual fair, many of them specializing in some

particular article of commerce. Many of these fairs, however, have been given up.

The principal towns of the country are :

| <i>Town.</i> | <i>Population.</i> | <i>Principal articles of commerce.</i> | <i>Communications.</i> |
|------------------------|--------------------|--|------------------------------|
| <i>Burgas</i> . . | 15,000 | Export of grain and flour ; import of iron, cotton, machinery, hardware, textiles | Black Sea Railway |
| <i>Dedeagach</i> . . | 5,500 | Export of cereals, cocoons, hides, wines, timber ; import of textiles, rice, drugs, ironmongery, &c. | Aegean Sea Railway |
| <i>Gabrovo</i> . . | 12,000 | Cloth, leather, wooden goods | Railway |
| <i>Gumuljina</i> . . | 18,500 | Cereals, tobacco, hides, soap | Railway |
| <i>Kazanlik</i> . . | 12,500 | Essence of roses, tobacco, trimming | Road |
| <i>Kustendil</i> . . | 14,000 | Cereals, flour, tobacco | Railway |
| <i>Philippopolis</i> . | 48,000 | Cloth and braid, silk, essence of roses, tobacco | Railway |
| <i>Plevna</i> . . | 25,000 | Cereals, leather | Railway |
| <i>Rahovo</i> . . | 8,000 | Timber, cereals, export and import | River Danube |
| <i>Ruschuk</i> . . | 40,000 | Export and import ; flour, soap, tobacco, hats | River Danube Railway |
| <i>Shumla</i> . . | 22,000 | Silk, tobacco, cereals, carpets | Railway |
| <i>Slivno</i> . . | 25,000 | Woollen goods, cloth, carpets, wine | Railway |
| <i>Sofia</i> . . | 120,000 | Brewing, cement, and pottery, furniture, leather, sugar | Railway |
| <i>Suflı</i> . . | 12,000 | Cereals | Railway |
| <i>Varna</i> . . | 41,000 | Import and export trade ; cotton-spinning, soap, milling | Black Sea Port Railway |

| <i>Town.</i> | <i>Population.</i> | <i>Principal articles of commerce.</i> | <i>Communications.</i> |
|-------------------|--------------------|--|----------------------------|
| <i>Vidin</i> . . | 17,000 | Cereals | River Danube Railway |
| <i>Vratsa</i> . . | 16,000 | Silk, wine | Railway |
| <i>Xanthi</i> . . | 16,000 | Tobacco | Railway |

(c) *Organizations to Promote Trade and Commerce*

For so young a kingdom, Bulgaria has shown a keen appreciation of the necessity for the organization of its industries and has realized to an unusual degree the importance of commercial education and of the supply of information to traders and merchants. Information is given below (p. 124) as to the grant of financial assistance to farmers and traders and schemes for encouraging thrift. Apart from such measures, however, the State is trying to encourage trade and commerce in the following ways :

i. By rendering primary education compulsory for all children of both sexes.

ii. By the organization of evening and holiday classes for children who have passed through the primary schools. The subjects taught comprise all branches of agriculture, and (for girls) dressmaking and domestic economy.

iii. By founding technical schools in which pupils are taught designing and artistic work for various branches of industry and the modelling and decorative arts.

iv. By means of Chambers of Commerce, of which there are five—at Sofia, Philippopolis, Ruschuk, Varna, and Xanthi. In connexion with these Chambers of Commerce there are information bureaux, which supply information on all commercial matters. It may be mentioned here that in 1911 a commission was appointed by the Chambers of Commerce to visit the

markets of the eastern Mediterranean, to study their needs and resources, and to report upon the means by which the products of Bulgarian industries might best be introduced into these places. The report was issued early in 1912, and proved of considerable interest, not merely to Bulgarian merchants but to all others trading in that part of the Mediterranean.

The success of the recent efforts of the Bulgarian Government to promote trade is largely due to the education which many Bulgarians have received at Robert College, founded by Americans at Constantinople, where there have always been a number of Bulgarian students. It is asserted that nearly all the Bulgarians holding high positions in their own country received their education at this college.

(d) Foreign Firms and Companies

The amount of foreign capital invested in companies established in Bulgaria for industrial purposes is negligible. In 1911 only ten industrial concerns, with a total combined capital of 13,779,000 leva, were founded exclusively with foreign money, and there were only four concerns, with a total combined capital of 869,000 leva, in which Bulgarian and foreign capital was combined. Of the foreign capital engaged at that date, 10,500,000 leva was Belgian, 1,900,000 leva was Russian, 1,000,000 leva was English, and the remainder German, French, and Turkish.

(e) Methods of Economic Penetration

In spite of the fact that both Austria and Germany have, in recent years, captured a very large portion of the import trade into Bulgaria, the economic penetration by the Central Empires has not been so extensive as, for instance, in Rumania. One reason is that the

Bulgarians, naturally jealous of foreign interference, have until quite recently done little to encourage the introduction of foreign capital. On their side, foreign merchants have been reluctant to commit themselves to large operations in an undeveloped and somewhat unsettled country, with poor railway communications.

Austria, however, has long been an important trader in Bulgarian markets, owing to the advantages she possesses in her geographical situation, and the almost complete monopoly which she held until recently in the up-river trade of the Danube. It appears, moreover, that since 1906 Austria and Germany have made organized attempts to capture Bulgarian trade. The familiar methods have been adopted, viz. :

The foundation of banks. Of the four large trading banks in Bulgaria, one was founded with German money, one with Austrian money, and a third with French, Belgian, and Austrian money.

The grant of financial assistance to the Bulgarian State Bank.

The institution of a regular service of steamers to Bulgarian Black Sea ports.

The employment of well-trained commercial travellers, who visit all parts of the country, study the requirements of their customers, and thus have a great advantage over competitors who rely on circulars alone to bring them orders.

The establishment in the large trade centres of commercial museums, where information on all matters relating to trade may be obtained.

(2) FOREIGN

The foreign trade of Bulgaria increased enormously during the years 1902-11, as is evident from the following figures :

| Year. | Imports. | | Exports. | | Excess Exports (+) Excess Imports (—) in thousand leva. |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| | Weight in metric tons. | Value in thousand leva. | Weight in metric tons. | Value in thousand leva. | |
| 1902 | 184,642 | 71,246 | 692,979 | 103,685 | + 32,439 |
| 1903 | 218,022 | 81,802 | 718,665 | 108,074 | + 26,272 |
| 1904 | 287,696 | 129,689 | 1,089,521 | 157,619 | + 27,930 |
| 1905 | 304,955 | 122,250 | 857,532 | 147,961 | + 25,711 |
| 1906 | 289,506 | 108,475 | 674,495 | 114,573 | + 6,098 |
| 1907 | 357,898 | 124,661 | 725,871 | 125,595 | + 934 |
| 1908 | 447,270 | 130,151 | 544,624 | 112,357 | — 17,794 |
| 1909 | 473,943 | 160,429 | 469,497 | 111,434 | — 48,995 |
| 1910 | 502,571 | 177,357 | 632,492 | 129,052 | — 48,305 |
| 1911 | 564,199 | 199,345 | 1,036,059 | 184,634 | — 14,711 |

As has been already stated, 80 per cent. of the active population of Bulgaria is engaged in some form of agriculture; consequently a bad harvest is reflected in the trade returns of the following years. For instance, while the harvests of the years 1901–4 were good, those of the years 1905–7 were either moderate or bad, the result being a large decrease in the export trade for the years 1906–8.

An unsatisfactory feature of Bulgarian trade in recent years has been the change in the balance of trade from an excess of exports to an excess of imports. This change is partly the effect of the industrial legislation, to which reference has been made, by which facilities were given to persons willing to erect new factories to import the necessary raw materials and plant free of duty. Other causes which have contributed are the operation of the Customs tariff of 1906, which substituted specific for *ad valorem* duties, and the improved system of valuation of imports. It is believed that imports were considerably undervalued in the period from 1894 to 1904. The main reason for the change was, however, the special expenditure of a large part of the sums obtained by means of foreign loans upon the purchase abroad of rifles, ammunition, and equipment for the army (the sums

spent in this way amounting between 1906 and 1911 to 86,000,000 leva, a sum about equal to the amount spent on the same object during the previous 27 years), and upon materials, rails, bridge work, locomotives, rolling stock, cement, machinery, &c., for the new works on railways and ports which have formed part of the scheme of industrial development to which the Bulgarian Government had committed itself before the Balkan Wars.

(a) *Exports*

Quantities and Values.—On the average of the years 1902 to 1911, the annual value of the exports of agricultural and dairy produce and live-stock from Bulgaria was 109 million leva, out of a total export value of 129 million leva. Agriculture thus provides about 84 per cent. of the exports of the country. If variations in the harvest be taken into account, it appears that the export of agricultural produce is on the increase, owing to the spread of modern methods and the greater use of agricultural machinery.

From 1902 to 1911 the wheat exported averaged in value 19,000,000 leva, and in weight 275,000 metric tons. Next among the cereals exported comes maize, and then barley, rye, and oats. The export of flour has steadily increased in recent years, thanks to the encouragement extended by the Government to the milling industry. Of other agricultural exports, the most important are sheep, cheese, and eggs. In the last an increasing trade is being done, the export trade having steadily increased from 6,592,000 leva in 1902 to 13,636,000 leva in 1911.

Apart from agricultural produce there are only two articles of export which are of importance, viz. essence of roses (the trade in which averaged over 5,400,000 leva

for the years 1907-11, as against 3,400,000 leva for the previous five years, see p. 91), and woollen goods, consisting of the native cloths known as *abas* and *shayak*.

Countries of Destination.—Normally, Bulgaria's two best customers were Belgium and Turkey. Belgium took cereals (especially wheat and maize) in large quantities, and to a less extent eggs; the eggs used to go by rail through the Central Empires, the cereals by sea. It is doubtful what proportion of the cereals was really intended for Belgian consumption. The sales to Turkey consisted chiefly of live animals, butter, cheese, flour, Bulgarian homespun, cocoons, grain (especially wheat, maize, and barley), beans, and wood in the rough. Belgium and Turkey have in recent years taken together about 45 per cent. of Bulgaria's exports, but the trade with Turkey was adversely affected in 1911 by a tariff war, and the exports to that country dropped from 34·3 per cent. of the total in 1910 to 15·8 per cent. in 1911. Great Britain, at the end of the period 1902-11, still stood third in importance among Bulgaria's customers, mainly owing to large purchases of maize and rapeseed in 1910 and 1911, but her purchases from Bulgaria of other goods were on the decrease. The sales to Germany rose from 11,000,000 leva in 1902 to 23,000,000 leva in 1911; the trade was chiefly in eggs, maize, rye, and essence of roses. With France and Greece a fair trade was done, that with Greece being on the increase, but that with France showing a marked downward tendency in recent years. The six countries mentioned account for over 80 per cent. of Bulgaria's export trade. Exports to Austria-Hungary during 1902-11 were fairly steady, and consisted mainly of eggs, barley, corn offals, maize, and lamb skins.

(b) Imports

Quantities and Values.—The imports into Bulgaria are as yet unimportant, averaging only 158,388,000 leva, or £6,335,000 sterling, for the five years 1907–11. In 1911, the latest year for which the particulars are available, it appears that imports were divided into the following broad classes, viz. :

| | <i>Value in leva.</i> | <i>Proportion per cent.</i> |
|--|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Food and drink . . . | 23,800,000 | 12 |
| Materials, raw or simply prepared . . . | 39,900,000 | 20 |
| Manufactured goods . . | 135,600,000 | 68 |
| <i>Total</i> . . . | <u>199,300,000</u> | |

Most of the food consumed in the country is produced at home, and imported food-stuffs consist for the most part of tropical and semi-tropical kinds, such as coffee, rice, sugar, southern fruits, dried fruits, and spices.

Among the raw materials the principal articles imported were raw hides and skins, coal and coke, oils, greases and waxes, wood for building, raw wool, and raw cotton.

Among manufactured goods the outstanding items are cotton yarns and manufactures, iron and steel manufactures, woollen manufactures, machinery and apparatus, paper, leather and glass manufactures.

Cotton yarn and cotton manufactures have always stood first among the imports, and between 1901–11 the value of these goods imported was practically doubled. The imports of cotton yarn for use in the factories increased from 5,000,000 leva in 1901 to 14,000,000 leva in 1911. Manufactures consist very largely of piece goods. Still more remarkable is the increase in the import of machinery, which rose from a value of 2,000,000 leva in 1902 to over 16,500,000 leva in 1911. There has

also been a large increase in the import of metal and metal goods, this item having risen from 6,500,000 leva in 1902 to nearly 24,000,000 leva in 1911 ; this includes the import of rails, &c., for the State railways. The import of coal has also increased greatly, rising from 20,000 metric tons in 1902 to 184,000 metric tons in 1911, notwithstanding the increased production of coal in the kingdom during the same period. The import of refined petroleum during these years remained practically constant.

Countries of Origin.—For some years Austria-Hungary has contributed the largest share of Bulgaria's imports, and her goods entering Bulgaria in 1911 reached a value of 48,000,000 leva, as against 18,000,000 leva in 1902, a result largely due to geographical proximity. Germany, however, has in recent years increased her trade with Bulgaria even more rapidly, and her share of the trade in 1911 (40,000,000 leva) was nearly five times the value of her share in 1902. Next in importance comes the United Kingdom, whose imports increased from 15,000,000 leva in 1902 to 30,000,000 leva in 1911 ; after the United Kingdom come Turkey and France. Imports from France rose in value from 4,000,000 leva to 25,000,000 leva from 1902 to 1911. Turkey's trade, on the other hand, did not show any very marked increase, and was less in 1911 than in previous years, owing to the tariff war already mentioned. In normal times the countries named supply 79 per cent. of Bulgaria's imports.

Austria-Hungary supplied goods of almost every class in the list of Bulgaria's imports. In the sugar trade she had practically the monopoly ; she contributed largely to Bulgaria's imports of metal, machinery, and metal goods, and did a large trade in calico, and prints and in cement. Germany supplied a very large proportion of Bulgaria's requirements of railway rolling stock

and machinery, the total sum spent by Bulgaria on such goods in 1911 going to Germany; she furnished a large share of Bulgaria's imports of woollen goods, and held a strong position in many other branches of Bulgaria's import trade. Bulgarian purchases from Great Britain consisted mainly of cotton and cotton goods; in this department of trade Great Britain has for many years headed the list. The bulk of the coal imported into the country likewise came from the United Kingdom, which also sent machinery, rails, and other metal goods, though competition on the part of Belgium, Germany, and Austria was very serious. The import trade with France consisted of soap, dry hides, leather, silk goods, and in recent years included a large trade in firearms and munitions of war. Imports from Turkey consisted of fruit, vegetables, coffee, coal, olive oil, soap, leather, raw wool and cotton, and low-grade cotton yarn.

The following tables relating to foreign trade will be found in the Appendix:

Table III. Principal exports, 1902-11.

Table IV. Export trade with principal countries, 1902-11.

Table V. Principal imports, 1902-11.

Table VI. Import trade with principal countries, 1902-11.

(c) *Customs and Tariffs*

Before 1904 the tariff was arranged mainly upon an *ad valorem* basis with the object of producing revenue. This led to the under-valuation of imports, and in 1904 the system was changed, a specific tariff of a strongly protectionist character being substituted.

The tariff now in force is that laid down by the law of 1911, amending that of 1904. It is designed to protect home industries rather than to obtain revenue;

hence goods likely to be of use in the development of industry are only lightly taxed. The following statement compares the average incidence of the tariff in force in 1905 with that of the tariff in force in 1911. The calculation relates to goods actually imported, and takes no account of the goods kept out by either tariff:

| | | <i>Average Incidence</i> | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | | <i>On all goods.</i> | <i>On dutiable goods only.</i> |
| Import Tariff of 1905 . . . | 12 % <i>ad val.</i> | | 16 % <i>ad val.</i> |
| Import Tariff of 1911 . . . | 14½ % „ | | 20 % „ |

Considerable sums are raised annually by duties on exports.

(d) *Trade Routes*

For the eight years 1904–11 the external trade of Bulgaria was divided between the Black Sea, the River Danube, and land transport as follows:

| | | <i>Imports.</i> | <i>Exports.</i> |
|------------------------|-------|------------------|------------------|
| | | <i>Per cent.</i> | <i>Per cent.</i> |
| Black Sea | 42·67 | | 45·94 |
| River Danube | 24·29 | | 26·55 |
| By land | 33·04 | | 27·51 |

Land transport is used more for imports than for exports, because Austria and Germany send to Bulgaria far more goods than they take from her.

Nearly the whole trade from the Black Sea is through Varna and Burgas, the former holding a considerable lead over the latter in all returns down to 1911. Subsequent figures are not available. In the Danube trade, Ruschuk is far ahead of all rivals, doing on an average four times as much trade as either Sistov, Rahovo, Vidin, Samovid, or Lom Palanka. At Ruschuk the import trade is much more important than the export trade. At the other Danube ports the balance is usually in favour of the export trade.

A very large part of the goods imported by land is consigned to Sofia, and a considerable quantity to Philippopolis. Both these towns have also a share of the export trade by land. The only other towns which have any considerable share in the trade by land are Tsaribrod, the frontier town on the Sofia-Nish railway, and Harmanli, until recently the frontier town from Bulgaria to Turkey on the Sofia-Adrianople-Constantinople route.

The transit trade of Bulgaria is insignificant.

(D) FINANCE

(1) PUBLIC FINANCE

For the five years 1902-6 the State expenditure averaged 133,209,000 leva: for the period 1907-11 it averaged 221,681,000 leva.¹ The growth is mainly due to increased expenditure on the army, railways, harbours, roads, and education, and to the increased amount required for the service of the public debt, the national indebtedness having risen from 203,000,000 leva in 1901 to 597,000,000 leva at the beginning of 1913. During that period a number of loans, chiefly expended on works of national value, were floated, and for the period 1905-12 the amount required for service of the loans (interest and amortisation) averaged over 47,000,000 leva annually.

The chief sources of revenue are (*a*) direct taxes, which include taxes on land, buildings, sheep and goats, patents, and road and military taxes; (*b*) indirect taxes, of which the most important are those on the manufacture and sale of tobacco and spirits, excise duties, import and export duties, and warehouse charges; (*c*) state monopolies of salt, cigarette paper,

¹ See Appendix, Table VII.

matches, and playing cards; (d) notarial, stamp, and registration duties; (e) revenue from railways, harbours, and the post office, and (f) income from the State domains and from the State share in the profits of the National Bank of Bulgaria.

The Finance Ministers have always found a difficulty in making both ends meet; and between 1902 and 1910 the balance was on the wrong side on four occasions. In fact, since 1907 Bulgaria has been living beyond her means and the Budgets have only been balanced by recourse to loans. Bulgarian newspapers profess to take an optimistic view of the financial position of the country to-day, notwithstanding the effect of three years of war, but it is difficult to see how Bulgaria will be in a position to meet her liabilities in the near future without recourse to taxation which may retard her development for some time to come.

(2) CURRENCY

The Bulgarian monetary units are :

The lev = 1 franc.

The stotinka = $\frac{1}{100}$ th of the lev = 1 centime.

The coins normally in circulation are :

Gold 100, 20, and 10 leva pieces.

Silver 5, 2, 1, and $\frac{1}{2}$ leva pieces.

Nickel 20, 10, 5, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ stotinki pieces.

Copper 2 and 1 stotinki pieces.

The following coins were returned as being in circulation in 1912 :

| | <i>Gold.</i> | <i>Silver.</i> | <i>Nickel.</i> | <i>Copper.</i> |
|--------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Number</i> . | 257,500 | 32,600,000 | 115,000,000 | 150,000,000 |
| <i>Value, leva</i> | 5,000,000 | 54,000,000 | 11,000,000 | 4,100,000 |

The Bulgarian gold coins in circulation are insufficient; and the gold circulation is mainly supplied by foreign

10 and 20 franc pieces. It is stated that 12,000,000 leva of these were put into circulation in 1912.

The Bulgarian Government has recently called in the nickel coins, substituting for them token coins made of an alloy of zinc (*Chemiker Zeitung*, September 8, 1917). This is apparently only a temporary expedient.

Gold bank-notes issued by the National Bank have been in circulation for many years. Silver bank-notes have been in circulation since 1899. In 1910 there were in circulation gold notes for 83,360,000 leva and silver notes for 27,429,000 leva.

Bulgaria has had many difficulties to contend with in regard to currency; and her statesmen have not shown an adequate grasp of the problems involved. Originally, i. e. in 1880, the bimetallic standard was introduced, but no effort was made to study the relation between the gold and the silver coinage; and between 1880 and 1894 successive Ministers of Finance were tempted to increase the silver coinage in circulation with the object of assisting them in balancing the budget—always a difficult matter—by means of the profit made on the minting of silver coins. The result has been an almost invariably high premium on gold, which between 1880 and 1897 reached at times 20 to 30 per cent., causing enormous losses to trade.

In 1897 Bulgaria decided to adopt the gold standard only, but the Act authorizing this mentioned no time within which the gold standard was to come into force. The minting of gold coins was resumed in 1912, for the first time since 1894, but the wars have postponed the benefits that this change should produce.

(3) BANKS

For so small a country Bulgaria boasts a large number of banks and credit institutions; and in 1912

there were, excluding the Banque Nationale de Bulgarie, which is a State institution, over fifty banks operating in the country. Of these many are quite small institutions, with paid-up capitals of 50,000–400,000 leva, or £2,000–£16,000. Owing to a law which made it compulsory for any banking establishment in Bulgaria to have a majority of Bulgarians on its board of directors, the Imperial Ottoman Bank was compelled to close branches at Sofia, Philippopolis, and Ruschuk. Three of the chief banks have been founded with foreign money and are doing a large business.

The most important banks in Bulgaria are :

Banque Nationale de Bulgarie.—Founded in 1879 with a capital of 2,000,000 leva. Originally its operations were chiefly that of a deposit bank, but in 1885 its capital was increased to 10,000,000 leva, and it was given fresh statutes, which included power to issue bank-notes. With the growth of the commercial life of the kingdom, even this capital was found insufficient, and in 1886 a loan of 10,000,000 leva was obtained from the Deutsche Bank on the security of ‘mortgage preference shares’, and by means of a similar issue in 1893 a further 10,000,000 leva was obtained from the same source. The turnover has steadily increased, and in 1911 reached 6,037,000,000 leva as against 1,843,000,000 leva in 1902 and 499,000,000 leva in 1892. The following particulars taken from the balance-sheet of the bank for 1915 are given by the *Banking Almanac* :

| <i>Liabilities.</i> | <i>Leva.</i> | <i>Assets.</i> | <i>Leva.</i> |
|---------------------------|--------------|------------------------|--------------|
| Paid-up capital . . . | 17,825,000 | Cash | 87,321,000 |
| Reserve fund . . . | 14,497,000 | Bills | 48,865,000 |
| Notes in circulation . . | 242,096,000 | Advances | 78,729,000 |
| Mortgages, 1909 . . . | 28,320,000 | Correspondents . . . | 89,620,000 |
| Deposits | 57,528,000 | Current accounts . . . | 181,958,000 |
| Current accounts, &c. . . | 151,952,000 | Sundry assets | 26,199,000 |
| Profit and loss | 2,892,000 | Investments, &c. . . . | 8,705,000 |
| | | Bank premises | 4,607,000 |

The head office of the bank is at Sofia, and there are branches in twenty-three towns in the country. London agents: Deutsche Bank, Anglo-Foreign Banking Company, Crédit Lyonnais, Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris.

Banque Balkanique.—Established 1906, founded by the Wiener Bankverein. Head office, Sofia. Branches at Burgas, Plevna, Philippopolis, Ruschuk, Varna, and Vidin. Capital, 6,000,000 leva; reserve fund, 2,023,000 leva; dividends, 1906, 5 per cent., 1907, 6 per cent., 1908, 7 per cent., 1909–10, 8 per cent., 1911–13, 8½ per cent., 1914, 5 per cent. London agents: Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, Anglo-Austrian Bank.

Banque Bulgare de Commerce.—A purely Bulgarian concern. Head office, Sofia. Branches at Burgas, Dedeagach, Gabrovo, Lom Palanka, Philippopolis, Ruschuk, and Varna. Capital, 7,500,000 leva; reserve funds, 1,800,000 leva. London agents: Credito Italiano, Swiss Bankverein, Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris.

Banque Générale de Bulgarie.—This bank was formed by the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas and the Pester-Ungarische Bank. Head office, Sofia. Branches at Burgas, Dedeagach, Philippopolis, Ruschuk, and Varna. Capital, 5,000,000 leva; reserve fund, 1,183,000 leva; dividends, 1909–10, 10 per cent., 1911–14, 15 per cent. London agents: London County & Westminster Bank, Kleinwort Sons & Co., Russian Bank for Foreign Trade, London City & Midland Bank.

Banque de Crédit.—Established in 1905; founded by the Disconto-Gesellschaft, the Norddeutsche Bank, and S. Bleichröder (Berlin). Head office, Sofia. Branches at Ruschuk and Varna. Capital, 3,000,000 leva; reserve fund, 164,000 leva; dividends, 1909–14, 5 per cent. London agents: Disconto-Gesellschaft.

Other banks of importance, all of which have been founded with Bulgarian money, are :

Ghirdap Bank, Ruschuk. Capital, 2,000,000 leva.

Progress Bank, Plevna. Capital, 1,000,000 leva.

Banque de Sofia. Capital, 1,000,000 leva.

Banque de Commerce et d'Industrie, Philippopolis. Capital, 1,000,000 leva.

(4) CREDIT INSTITUTIONS

Banque Agricole de Bulgarie.—This institution is an amalgamation of the agricultural banks which were originated in 1863 during the Turkish rule, and after many vicissitudes were for the first time regularized by legislation in 1894. The Banque Agricole in its present form dates from 1903. Its initial capital was 35,000,000 leva ; its head office is at Sofia, and it has branches and agencies in all the towns and most important villages in the kingdom. Its chief transactions, apart from the usual banking business, are the following :

i. Loans on the security of goods, cattle, seeds, and agricultural produce.

ii. Advances to farmers to enable them to buy cattle, seeds, and agricultural implements.

iii. Financing co-operative societies.

iv. Loans to the departments and communes for the purpose of improving the rural economy of the country.

The interest which the bank pays on deposits is graduated according to the length of term. The turnover amounted to 1,308,698,000 leva in 1911, as against a turnover of 507,307,000 leva in 1900, and 127,731,000 leva in 1895. The balance-sheet for 1911 shows :

| | Leva. |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| Capital | 44,354,000 |
| Reserve capital | 5,890,000 |
| Loans against security | 100,226,000 |
| Deposits | 58,000,000 |

Post Office Savings Banks.—Bulgaria has a system of savings banks which are managed by the post offices throughout the country, and are organized on a similar system to that of the English Post Office Savings Bank. The law governing them was passed in 1896. The banks are guaranteed by the State, and the funds of the savings banks are deposited with the Banque Nationale de Bulgarie. The banks may not be used for the deposit of sums over 2,000 leva, except by friendly societies, whose limit is 5,000 leva. The Banque Nationale pays $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on deposits, of which $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is retained by the savings banks to cover expenses, and the balance goes to the depositors.

The sums deposited in 1911 amounted to 35,784,000 leva (an increase of over 5,000,000 leva on the deposits of the previous year), sums withdrawn during the same period amounting to 29,741,000 leva.

Banque Centrale Coopérative de Bulgarie.—This bank was founded in 1911 with a capital of 5,000,000 leva, of which half was found by the Banque Nationale and half by the Banque Agricole. Further capital to an amount of 88,600 leva was obtained by public subscription, and ‘obligations’ for 1,000,000 leva were authorized, which were taken by the Banque Nationale. The turnover during the nine months, April–December 1911, amounted to 25,077,000 leva, and for the complete year 1912 to 76,726,000 leva.

APPENDIX

TABLE I. PRINCIPAL CROPS. ANNUAL CULTIVATION AND VALUE

| 1. Area under Cultivation, in Hectares. | | | 2. Value of the Crops, in <i>Lira</i> or <i>Francs</i> . | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Nature of cultivation.</i> | | | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. | 1912. |
| Cereals . . . | 1 | | 2,156,858 | 2,243,899 | 2,219,639 | 2,313,521 | 2,394,252 | 2,506,133 | 2,523,738 | 2,564,588 |
| | 2 | | 266,000,489 | 300,883,838 | 209,143,073 | 357,279,171 | 344,114,587 | 385,588,603 | 397,552,475 | 436,487,337 |
| Industrial plants . | 1 | | 76,004 | 22,033 | 16,802 | 15,476 | 13,214 | 21,540 | 41,542 | 37,014 |
| | 2 | | 14,250,466 | 10,112,825 | 6,323,640 | 6,359,460 | 5,954,000 | 11,433,262 | 18,685,233 | 14,666,984 |
| Leguminous plants | 1 | | 38,609 | 51,310 | 55,752 | 72,751 | 60,259 | 59,210 | 76,082 | 89,300 |
| | 2 | | 8,982,564 | 14,739,143 | 9,431,712 | 12,838,889 | 8,832,663 | 14,851,202 | 18,621,586 | 23,127,317 |
| Garden produce . | 1 | | 30,763 | 33,971 | 30,875 | 36,522 | 36,317 | 37,888 | 38,688 | 40,336 |
| | 2 | | 11,096,852 | 14,758,889 | 15,187,712 | 16,723,295 | 13,339,131 | 14,009,694 | 17,396,585 | 18,790,968 |
| Fodder . . . | 1 | | 486,035 | 498,850 | 505,545 | 512,485 | 523,371 | 539,815 | 558,032 | 572,473 |
| | 2 | | 66,357,877 | 65,626,637 | 63,683,139 | 91,060,232 | 113,771,718 | 124,596,191 | 112,890,226 | 95,990,624 |
| Orchards and mulberries | 1 | | 7,869 | 8,637 | 8,980 | 9,392 | 9,949 | 10,640 | 11,337 | 11,699 |
| | 2 | | 4,795,694 | 4,886,544 | 4,728,331 | 8,551,946 | 3,739,586 | 8,887,552 | 4,075,265 | 3,785,323 |
| Vineyards . . . | 1 | | 90,975 | 92,106 | 88,671 | 86,434 | 85,240 | 79,405 | 67,872 | 61,504 |
| | 2 | | 57,228,889 | 31,546,764 | 50,281,652 | 95,485,307 | 59,520,973 | 38,976,516 | 36,168,942 | 56,122,988 |
| Rose gardens . . | 1 | | 7,304 | 7,319 | 7,258 | 7,348 | 7,621 | 7,606 | 7,666 | 7,907 |
| | 2 | | 3,000,016 | 2,821,366 | 2,652,803 | 3,163,564 | 3,767,998 | 3,540,400 | 5,641,199 | 6,505,535 |
| Fallow . . . | 1 | | 683,302 | 645,650 | 686,325 | 638,400 | 742,498 | 665,158 | 706,663 | 692,168 |

TABLE II. PRINCIPAL CEREALS. AREA CULTIVATED AND ESTIMATED YIELD.

| 1. Area in Hectares. | | 2. Total yield in Quintals. | | | | 3. Mean yield in Quintals per Hectare. | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| | | 4. Mean yield in Bushels per Acre. | | | | | | | | |
| Crop. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. | 1912. | 1913. | 1914. |
| WHEAT | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 979,570 | 1,009,628 | 977,190 | 980,422 | 1,040,140 | 1,088,696 | 1,118,409 | 1,168,199 | 1,476,520 | 1,208,420 |
| 2 | 9,511,638 | 10,643,719 | 6,407,956 | 9,932,513 | 8,728,359 | 11,497,982 | 13,143,812 | 12,180,752 | 13,949,672 | 8,005,126 |
| 3 | 9.7 | 10.5 | 6.6 | 10.1 | 8.4 | 10.6 | 11.8 | 10.4 | 9.4 | 6.6 |
| 4 | 14.4 | 15.6 | 9.8 | 15.0 | 12.5 | 15.7 | 17.5 | 15.5 | 14.0 | 9.8 |
| MAIZE | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 472,831 | 507,650 | 498,282 | 570,758 | 607,455 | 611,518 | 631,935 | 643,156 | 634,700 | 635,700 |
| 2 | 4,608,067 | 7,056,446 | 3,576,366 | 5,262,239 | 5,200,122 | 7,203,928 | 7,770,422 | 7,233,011 | 8,433,286 | 7,849,200 |
| 3 | 9.7 | 13.9 | 7.2 | 9.2 | 8.6 | 11.8 | 12.3 | 11.2 | 13.3 | 12.3 |
| 4 | 14.4 | 20.7 | 10.8 | 13.7 | 12.7 | 17.5 | 18.3 | 16.6 | 19.8 | 18.3 |
| BARLEY | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 233,178 | 231,594 | 232,227 | 251,371 | 241,206 | 260,329 | 251,178 | 260,000 | 244,155 | 240,400 |
| 2 | 2,488,785 | 2,614,436 | 1,474,508 | 2,462,639 | 2,029,568 | 3,066,232 | 2,697,665 | 4,000,000 | 3,024,436 | 2,255,811 |
| 3 | 10.7 | 11.3 | 6.3 | 9.8 | 8.4 | 11.8 | 10.7 | 15.4 | 12.4 | 9.4 |
| 4 | 15.9 | 16.8 | 9.2 | 14.6 | 12.5 | 17.5 | 15.9 | 22.9 | 18.4 | 14.0 |
| RYE | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 175,711 | 186,847 | 182,447 | 173,730 | 201,542 | 227,344 | 220,721 | 213,890 | 208,600 | 202,700 |
| 2 | 1,806,664 | 1,914,736 | 986,322 | 1,423,567 | 1,754,248 | 2,297,523 | 2,284,139 | 2,139,239 | 2,388,055 | 1,771,363 |
| 3 | 10.3 | 10.2 | 5.4 | 8.2 | 8.7 | 10.1 | 10.3 | 10.0 | 11.4 | 8.7 |
| 4 | 15.4 | 15.3 | 8.0 | 12.3 | 12.8 | 15.0 | 15.3 | 14.9 | 16.9 | 12.9 |
| OATS | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 173,699 | 189,611 | 189,743 | 227,699 | 196,541 | 197,849 | 180,797 | 176,139 | 186,900 | 162,000 |
| 2 | 1,361,602 | 1,724,935 | 1,076,416 | 1,633,280 | 1,358,037 | 1,565,987 | 1,512,637 | 1,263,849 | 1,469,647 | 1,251,620 |
| 3 | 7.8 | 9.1 | 5.7 | 7.2 | 6.9 | 7.9 | 8.4 | 7.2 | 7.9 | 7.7 |
| 4 | 11.6 | 13.5 | 8.4 | 10.8 | 10.2 | 11.8 | 12.5 | 10.8 | 11.7 | 11.4 |

1 hectare = 2.47 acres; 1 quintal = 3.67 bushels.

TABLE III. PRINCIPAL EXPORTS

VALUE IN THOUSANDS OF FRANCS (MERCHANDISE ONLY)

| <i>Principal articles.</i> | 1902. | 1903. | 1904. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Cheese | 2,207 | 2,650 | 3,190 | 3,255 | 2,812 | 2,609 | 2,782 | 2,687 | 3,694 | 4,013 |
| Colza | 6,257 | 689 | 12 | 6,166 | 10 | 16 | 3 | 4 | 3,434 | 3,493 |
| Eggs | 6,592 | 6,423 | 8,500 | 9,113 | 10,649 | 11,482 | 7,297 | 9,212 | 8,846 | 13,636 |
| Flour of all kinds | 2,661 | 3,655 | 4,054 | 3,674 | 4,612 | 5,289 | 5,339 | 6,816 | 11,607 | 13,654 |
| Grain : barley | 5,730 | 5,097 | 9,449 | 6,878 | 5,735 | 3,162 | 4,665 | 3,707 | 5,816 | 8,911 |
| " maize | 18,980 | 12,467 | 22,770 | 11,216 | 14,072 | 26,838 | 13,861 | 17,016 | 13,491 | 39,534 |
| " millet | 690 | 799 | 185 | 192 | 583 | 407 | 895 | 111 | 326 | 530 |
| " oats | 2,311 | 3,764 | 4,916 | 3,114 | 3,371 | 3,201 | 837 | 1,644 | 294 | 766 |
| " rye | 3,258 | 2,803 | 6,269 | 8,183 | 4,247 | 5,336 | 6,183 | 3,925 | 6,113 | 9,154 |
| " wheat (including buckwheat) | 28,501 | 42,566 | 72,982 | 64,822 | 35,505 | 35,227 | 39,033 | 32,500 | 37,638 | 47,639 |
| Haricots | 756 | 2,315 | 824 | 2,404 | 4,456 | 2,612 | 4,140 | 979 | 3,730 | 6,165 |
| Hides and skins | 2,975 | 2,767 | 2,794 | 4,046 | 4,905 | 2,802 | 3,126 | 3,670 | 3,504 | 3,309 |
| Live stock | 7,355 | 5,272 | 6,305 | 6,126 | 4,828 | 8,188 | 6,437 | 6,729 | 7,324 | 8,341 |
| Perfumes (essence of rose) | 2,609 | 3,735 | 2,741 | 3,712 | 4,521 | 4,642 | 4,321 | 5,328 | 5,493 | 7,404 |
| Wood, rough or sawn | 1,306 | 1,009 | 850 | 529 | 616 | 516 | 516 | 780 | 610 | 175 |
| Woollen mfrs. (known as <i>abas</i> and <i>shayat</i>) | 1,763 | 1,766 | 1,762 | 1,761 | 2,331 | 2,393 | 1,679 | 3,426 | 4,203 | 2,290 |

TABLE IV. TRADE WITH PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES. EXPORTS

| TOTAL VALUE IN THOUSANDS OF FRANCS (MERCHANDISE ONLY), DISTINGUISHING PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Countries. | 1902. | 1903. | 1904. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. | |
| United Kingdom | . | 24,499 | 20,180 | 24,728 | 12,884 | 14,985 | 20,706 | 9,680 | 8,279 | 15,315 | 24,237 |
| Austria-Hungary | . | 8,245 | 9,697 | 14,090 | 18,887 | 8,200 | 8,023 | 6,346 | 11,778 | 7,828 | 10,567 |
| Belgium | . | 19,107 | 25,948 | 52,988 | 42,415 | 20,142 | 26,970 | 22,039 | 19,341 | 20,944 | 53,790 |
| France | . | 7,652 | 7,506 | 7,606 | 8,917 | 8,977 | 6,991 | 6,210 | 5,045 | 9,039 | 11,119 |
| Germany | . | 10,609 | 9,278 | 12,216 | 11,709 | 15,410 | 17,022 | 11,626 | 13,524 | 14,218 | 22,912 |
| Greece | . | 3,551 | 4,912 | 3,731 | 5,457 | 9,721 | 8,019 | 8,933 | 4,601 | 6,340 | 12,650 |
| Italy | . | 2,766 | 2,836 | 4,762 | 4,437 | 3,906 | 3,100 | 4,012 | 2,732 | 1,818 | 3,948 |
| Rumania | . | 1,209 | 1,511 | 1,756 | 1,851 | 1,121 | 923 | 959 | 621 | 869 | 1,246 |
| Russia | . | 262 | 258 | 142 | 218 | 306 | 249 | 247 | 210 | 301 | 336 |
| Serbia | . | 319 | 359 | 1,746 | 2,357 | 584 | 348 | 344 | 359 | 404 | 614 |
| Turkey | . | 22,211 | 23,165 | 25,645 | 21,310 | 21,699 | 27,283 | 33,482 | 36,652 | 44,283 | 29,210 |
| United States | . | 699 | 917 | 515 | 1,411 | 1,372 | 1,264 | 826 | 1,430 | 1,117 | 1,167 |
| Other Countries | . | 2,556 | 1,507 | 7,694 | 16,108 | 8,150 | 4,697 | 7,653 | 6,862 | 6,576 | 12,838 |
| Total | Thousands of francs | 103,685 | 108,074 | 157,619 | 147,961 | 114,573 | 125,595 | 112,357 | 111,434 | 129,052 | 184,634 |
| exports | Thousands of pounds | 4,147 | 4,323 | 6,305 | 5,918 | 4,583 | 5,024 | 4,494 | 4,457 | 5,162 | 7,385 |

TABLE V. PRINCIPAL IMPORTS

VALUE IN THOUSANDS OF FRANCS

| <i>Principal articles.</i> | 1902. | 1903. | 1904. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Clothing (ready-made) | 1,329 | 1,399 | 2,316 | 1,813 | 1,114 | 1,255 | 1,173 | 1,284 | 1,465 | 1,656 |
| Coal and coke | 526 | 717 | 934 | 1,032 | 1,088 | 2,187 | 3,905 | 2,939 | 3,162 | 4,952 |
| Coffee (raw and roasted) | 1,046 | 1,127 | 1,379 | 1,449 | 1,480 | 1,396 | 1,558 | 1,735 | 1,774 | 2,906 |
| Cotton (raw) | 1,462 | 1,138 | 1,554 | 1,613 | 1,967 | 1,398 | 1,337 | 1,363 | 1,262 | 1,357 |
| " (yarns) | 6,126 | 7,059 | 8,606 | 9,724 | 9,892 | 8,932 | 9,336 | 12,139 | 10,985 | 14,155 |
| " (manufactures) | 10,356 | 10,617 | 15,098 | 14,835 | 13,842 | 14,666 | 11,633 | 16,517 | 14,252 | 18,535 |
| Glass and glassware | 1,177 | 1,257 | 1,563 | 1,911 | 1,765 | 1,679 | 1,997 | 2,129 | 2,492 | 2,259 |
| Hides (raw and dried) | 1,238 | 1,253 | 2,333 | 2,188 | 2,643 | 3,111 | 1,812 | 2,768 | 4,129 | 7,726 |
| Iron in the rough (including hoop and plate iron) | 1,475 | 1,617 | 2,207 | 2,316 | 2,367 | 2,943 | 2,762 | 3,181 | 3,562 | 3,646 |
| Iron (manufactures of) | 2,611 | 4,157 | 4,149 | 4,119 | 4,244 | 6,951 | 8,433 | 9,629 | 11,177 | 9,358 |
| Leather (for soles) | 1,666 | 1,898 | 2,594 | 2,392 | 2,244 | 1,852 | 1,869 | 2,194 | 2,073 | 2,180 |
| Machinery and apparatus (including locomotives) | 1,969 | 2,347 | 4,413 | 4,799 | 5,286 | 8,004 | 8,373 | 12,708 | 13,171 | 16,674 |
| Paper of all sorts | 1,907 | 1,859 | 2,562 | 2,576 | 1,889 | 2,591 | 2,668 | 2,259 | 3,327 | 3,086 |
| Petroleum (refined) | 1,919 | 2,308 | 3,767 | 2,763 | 3,584 | 2,570 | 3,225 | 3,713 | 3,450 | 3,076 |
| Sugar (refined) | 2,348 | 3,075 | 4,280 | 5,466 | 657 | 2,791 | 3,355 | 4,252 | 5,759 | 5,316 |
| Wood (rough or sawn) | 1,002 | 1,364 | 2,268 | 3,990 | 3,099 | 3,167 | 4,109 | 3,900 | 5,178 | 6,873 |
| Wool (manufactures of) | 2,522 | 2,860 | 4,596 | 4,241 | 3,202 | 4,029 | 4,585 | 5,065 | 5,886 | 6,291 |

TABLE VI. TRADE WITH PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES. IMPORTS

| TOTAL VALUE IN THOUSANDS OF FRANCS (MERCHANDISE ONLY), DISTINGUISHING PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Countries. | | 1902. | 1903. | 1904. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. |
| United Kingdom | . | 15,216 | 14,840 | 18,849 | 20,183 | 19,600 | 21,424 | 23,202 | 27,010 | 22,682 | 30,034 |
| Austria-Hungary | . | 18,142 | 22,830 | 38,169 | 33,037 | 27,802 | 34,688 | 35,541 | 38,867 | 47,571 | 48,216 |
| Belgium | . | 1,987 | 2,103 | 2,497 | 2,849 | 3,078 | 4,253 | 4,279 | 7,902 | 8,507 | 5,047 |
| France | . | 3,958 | 3,367 | 10,693 | 7,319 | 5,373 | 6,593 | 7,023 | 11,165 | 15,348 | 24,927 |
| Germany | . | 8,556 | 10,918 | 19,976 | 21,031 | 16,225 | 19,660 | 20,847 | 29,215 | 34,120 | 39,837 |
| Greece | . | 474 | 321 | 338 | 283 | 224 | 389 | 455 | 811 | 421 | 488 |
| Italy. | . | 5,023 | 6,147 | 8,319 | 6,781 | 5,543 | 5,506 | 4,712 | 5,489 | 6,843 | 9,118 |
| Rumania | . | 1,484 | 2,182 | 3,712 | 5,519 | 3,365 | 3,633 | 4,131 | 5,049 | 6,572 | 8,724 |
| Russia | . | 3,096 | 3,902 | 6,075 | 3,255 | 4,694 | 4,771 | 5,635 | 5,802 | 6,865 | 6,975 |
| Serbia | . | 740 | 728 | 1,101 | 1,080 | 1,408 | 2,036 | 2,037 | 2,749 | 2,270 | 1,751 |
| Turkey | . | 11,077 | 12,325 | 17,025 | 16,872 | 18,052 | 17,548 | 19,153 | 21,084 | 21,024 | 15,986 |
| United States | . | 304 | 379 | 577 | 1,418 | 465 | 908 | 574 | 591 | 854 | 1,695 |
| Other Countries | . | 1,189 | 1,761 | 2,359 | 2,623 | 2,690 | 3,232 | 2,462 | 4,696 | 4,280 | 6,547 |
| Total | } Thousands of francs imports } Thousands of pounds. | 71,246 | 81,803 | 129,690 | 122,250 | 108,474 | 124,661 | 130,151 | 160,430 | 177,357 | 199,345 |
| | | 2,850 | 3,272 | 5,188 | 4,890 | 4,339 | 4,986 | 5,206 | 6,417 | 7,094 | 7,974 |

TABLE VII

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF BULGARIA, 1906-15

BUDGET

| | <i>Revenue.</i> <i>Thousand francs.</i> | <i>Expenditure.</i> <i>Thousand francs.</i> | <i>Excess of Revenue (+)</i> <i>or Excess of Expenses (-).</i> <i>Thousand francs.</i> | |
|------|--|--|--|--------|
| 1906 | 135,456 | 136,702 | (-) | 1,246 |
| 1907 | 148,672 | 146,581 | (+) | 2,091 |
| 1908 | 150,697 | 153,701 | (-) | 3,004 |
| 1909 | 166,611 | 158,955 | (+) | 7,656 |
| 1910 | 180,927 | 198,121 | (-) | 17,194 |
| 1911 | 198,796 | 181,022 | (+) | 17,774 |

EXTRA-BUDGET RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE

| | <i>Receipts (mainly</i> <i>provided from loans).</i> <i>Thousand francs.</i> | <i>Expenditure.</i> <i>Thousand francs.</i> | <i>Excess of Receipts (+)</i> <i>or Excess of Expenses (-).</i> <i>Thousand francs.</i> | |
|------|--|--|---|--------|
| 1906 | 9,030 | 11,735 | (-) | 2,705 |
| 1907 | 92,832 | 93,476 | (-) | 644 |
| 1908 | 80,175 | 89,504 | (-) | 9,329 |
| 1909 | 33,308 | 33,142 | (+) | 166 |
| 1910 | 85,018 | 31,082 | (+) | 53,936 |
| 1911 | 5,044 | 21,822 | (-) | 16,778 |

TOTAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE

| | <i>Receipts.</i> <i>Thousand francs.</i> | <i>Expenditure.</i> <i>Thousand francs.</i> | <i>Excess of Receipts (+)</i> <i>or Excess of Expenses (-).</i> <i>Thousand francs.</i> | |
|------|---|--|---|--------|
| 1906 | 144,486 | 148,437 | (-) | 3,951 |
| 1907 | 241,505 | 240,058 | (+) | 1,447 |
| 1908 | 230,872 | 243,205 | (-) | 12,333 |
| 1909 | 99,919 | 192,097 | (+) | 7,822 |
| 1910 | 265,945 | 229,203 | (+) | 36,742 |
| 1911 | 203,840 | 202,844 | (+) | 996 |
| 1912 | 170,039 | 158,666 | (+) | 11,373 |
| 1913 | 168,725 | 167,771 | (+) | 954 |
| 1914 | 224,251 | 247,110 | (-) | 22,869 |
| | | | (+) | 14 |

* Budget estimate.

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

ALTHOUGH sometimes spoken of as one of the Balkan States, Rumania does not form part of the Balkan Peninsula. Except for the region known as the Dobruja, its whole area lies north of the Danube, and has more in common with the Carpathian Mountains on the one hand and the South Russian steppes on the other than with the Balkans. Rumania lies between $22^{\circ} 20'$ and $29^{\circ} 40'$ east longitude, and between $43^{\circ} 15'$ and $48^{\circ} 20'$ north latitude. Its area, including the Dobruja, is 53,489 square miles.

The boundaries of Rumania are the crests of the Transylvanian Alps and Carpathian Mountains on the north and west; on the east, between Moldavia and Russia, the Pruth; on the south, the Danube to a point 10 miles west of Turtucaia (Tutrakan); from this point the frontier is an arbitrary line running over the steppe country in the south of the Dobruja to the Black Sea near Ecrene. The Black Sea is the eastern boundary of the Dobruja.

(2) SURFACE, COAST, AND RIVER SYSTEM

Surface

Historically Rumania consists of three portions: Wallachia in the south-west, Moldavia in the north-east, and the Dobruja in the south-east. The distinction between Wallachia and Moldavia is not recognized in the administration of the king-

dom, but it exists in the popular mind and is justified by differences in the surface of the country, as well as by the separate historical development of the two former principalities. Wallachia is an inclined plain between the Transylvanian Alps and the Danube, traversed by a series of rivers running more or less parallel with each other. In Moldavia the surface of the country is more broken, and the river system is of a different kind. Moldavia, in fact, apart from the Carpathians, consists in the main of two great longitudinal depressions, those of the Sereth and the Pruth. From the geographical point of view Moldavia and Wallachia should therefore be considered separately. The Dobruja has obviously a separate existence, not merely because it is separated from the rest of the country by the broad channels and marshes of the lower Danube, but also because its surface is quite different. All three provinces, however, have one great geographical bond in the Danube, which flows along the whole southern border of Wallachia, then passes between that region and the Dobruja, touches the south-east corner of Moldavia at the great Moldavian port of Galatz, and finally, after bordering Russian territory, spreads out fanwise in the great delta which forms the northern part of the Dobruja.

Wallachia.—The total area of Wallachia is approximately 29,810 square miles. The surface is of three kinds: steppe, 'vine-country', and mountain, or, more properly, plain, hills, and mountains. The transition from one kind to another is as a rule gradual. The plain gradually becomes folded and merges in hills; the hills, by almost imperceptible stages, blend with the mountain country. Yet any one who crosses Wallachia by the great transverse railway from Corabia on the Danube, through Piatra, up the Olt valley and through the Roter Turm Pass, will be sensible of the changes

from the almost level plain to the well-watered hill country, and from the hills to the wild gorges and the forest-clad slopes of the Transylvanian Alps.

In tradition and in the popular mind Wallachia is still regarded as consisting of two great divisions: Oltenia west of the river Olt, and Muntenia east of the Olt, or, to use another accepted terminology, Little and Great Wallachia. The chief town of the first is Craiova, of the second Bucarest. Geographically Little and Great Wallachia differ in certain respects; the average level of the first is rather higher, and the rainfall is somewhat greater. In respect of the plain country there is little difference, except that as one proceeds eastward the plain becomes even more monotonous, and gradually less fertile till it ends in the still almost uninhabited Baragan steppe which borders on the west the course of the Danube from Călărași to Brăila.

In Oltenia the plain is slightly more diversified than in Muntenia; the deep soil, of a yellowish colour, is a kind of continuation of the 'black earth' of Little Russia, and is extremely fertile. Over mile upon mile of almost level country there is in summer nothing but standing crops of maize and wheat. Owing to the lack of firewood and of streams and of shelter the inhabitants are not spread over the country in homesteads, but are congregated in large villages of from 800 to 3,000 people. The plain in Muntenia covers a much larger area than in Oltenia, and its surface presents several different types.

In Oltenia the soil of the hill region consists of sand and clays upon gravel. It is well watered and fertile, and produces not merely cereals but also vines. Habitation is chiefly in the valleys, particularly along the upper terrace. The hill region in Muntenia has a much greater area than in Oltenia and is less uniform.

The extension of the Carpathians on the north-east of Rumania is known as the Transylvanian Alps. In the Wallachian section their greatest breadth is about 44 miles, of which some 25 miles are actually in Wallachia. The Carpathians have no perpetual snow, their greatest heights along the Rumanian frontier being no more than 8,000 to 8,500 ft. In general their upper slopes are gentle and forested with beech and fir; their summits are rounded, bare, and grassy.

Moldavia.—Moldavia, like Wallachia, has to be considered under three aspects: the plains, the hills, the mountains. Its total area is much smaller, however, and each of the regions is on a smaller scale. The total area of Moldavia is 14,710 square miles, about half that of Wallachia.

The plains lie along the rivers of Moldavia, and are only a few miles broad. On either side of the Sereth there is a narrow belt of flat country, some 300 ft. above sea-level. There is similar country along the banks of the Moldova, the important tributary which joins the Sereth near the town of Roman. East of the Pruth is Bessarabia, which is outside Rumania; along both banks lies a belt of flat marshy ground which on the Rumanian side is 3 to 6 miles wide. West of Jassy (Iași) there are small basins among the hills that border the Bahluiu river, and similar restricted plains are found elsewhere.

The rest of the country, outside the Carpathian Mountains, is a sandy-clay hill country, in which the hills have a very gradual slope, are wooded on the top, and have much pasture and also cultivated land growing wheat, maize, and vines on their slopes. This plateau or hill country is divided longitudinally by the Sereth. West of this river are the foot-hills of the Carpathians. Here, at any rate towards the south,

the valleys are narrow, there are very few level spaces, and heights of nearly 2,500 ft. occur. East of the Sereth the valleys are broad, and the whole country is open and suited for cultivation.

In Moldavia the Carpathians are somewhat lower than in Wallachia. Their summits are bare, but their sides are covered with magnificent forests of beech, fir, pine, and oak. The valleys are deeply cut and stony, and there is no great extent of pasture-land anywhere.

The Dobruja.—The Dobruja (Dobrogea), the portion of Rumania which lies between the Danube and the Black Sea, has, including the additions made in 1913, an area of 8,969 square miles. It consists of three distinct types of country: the delta of the Danube, the wooded country of Babadag, and the steppe country to the south.

The delta is enclosed between the Kilia arm and the St. George arm of the Danube; through the centre runs the Sulina arm. The base of the delta between the mouths of the north and south arms is about 40 miles long, and its total area is about 1,000 square miles. It is a kind of amphibious country, in which water and land are often indistinguishable. There are lakes and marshes everywhere; and during the months when the water is high, from April to June, practically the whole country is inundated. At Sulina, the chief town in the delta, the land is only 2 ft. above sea-level; in certain other parts it is actually below sea-level. There is a profuse vegetation of reeds and willows, but little else. Communication is made chiefly along the Sulina canal and by causeway. Every year the delta gains 10 to 15 ft. towards the sea, and is gradually becoming consolidated.

Outside the delta, in the department of Tulcea, is the Babadag plateau, a land of wood and hill. Here there

is a fair amount of oak and beech; the streams are sufficient though small.

The rest of the Dobruja proper is steppe, becoming more fertile towards the south. There is here scarcely any surface water, although there is plenty of subterranean water to be tapped by sinking wells.

The new territory is a fertile belt of corn-land. Formerly the Dobruja was bounded by a line which began at the Black Sea $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Mangalia and ran west-north-west to the Danube immediately east of Silistra. The addition of the new territory extended this limit about 30 miles to the south. The comparative fertility of the old and new territory can be judged from the density of population: in the new territory it is nearly ninety-two to the square mile; in Constanza (Constanța, Küstenje), the most populous department of the old, it is seventy-eight per square mile.

Coast

Rumania has about 196 miles of coast on the Black Sea. This is divided into three portions by Capes Caliacra and Midia. From Ecrene north to Cape Caliacra is the vast curve of Cavarina Bay, the only portion of the Rumanian coast where vessels of all sizes can safely anchor.

In the whole of the second stretch of coast, from Cape Caliacra to Cape Midia, there are only two places naturally suited for shipping. The first is at Mangalia, a village at the opening of a little valley, about $27\frac{1}{2}$ miles by road south of Constanza. Before the war the Rumanians were contemplating the construction of a harbour at Mangalia.

Constanza is the next place to the northward suitable for shipping. This point on the coast is only 40 miles by rail from Cernavoda on the Danube. The natural

advantages of Constanza have been utilized in the construction of a harbour for large ships.

From Cape Midia the coast is extremely low and sandy, with large salt lagoons stretching for miles inland. One of these lagoons is Lake Razelm, which is entered by a narrow channel called the Gura Portița. At the Gura Portița the mud flats of the Danube delta may be said to begin.

Rumania possesses one island in the Black Sea—the Isle of Serpents (Insulă Șerpilor), 24 miles east by north of Sulina. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference, with steep shores, and with good landing-places at the north-east and south ends. The island is uninhabited; it has a lighthouse and a Rumanian picket.

River System

It is said that about 200 considerable rivers flow through Rumania. Of these the Danube, the Pruth, and the Sereth are the largest. The Danube is a great inland waterway. The Pruth is navigable for part of its course; the Sereth is not navigable, but could without great difficulty be made so. The other rivers, especially those in Wallachia, are apt to lose volume by percolation after they issue from the mountains. During their course in the mountains they are rapid and strong, and can be used both for supplying power and for rafting.

Rivers of Wallachia.—The chief rivers of Wallachia are the Jiu, the Olt, the Vedea, the Argeș, the Ialomița, and the Buzău. Of these the Vedea is the only one that rises in the region of the hills. The rest come from the Transylvanian Alps. The Olt rises in Transylvania, and enters Wallachia by the Roter Turm gorge.

Rivers of Moldavia.—The great river of Moldavia is the Sereth, for only one side of the Pruth is Rumanian;

its valley throughout the greater part of its course in Moldavia is between 10 and 11 miles broad. Its great tributaries from the Carpathians bring a considerable supply of water, and its volume remains large until it reaches the Danube. Much rafting is done on its tributary the Bistrița.

The Pruth for 379 miles follows the Rumanian frontier: its bed is 650 to 1,000 ft. broad, its depth 13 to 20 ft., and it is navigable for vessels of moderate size to the neighbourhood of Huși, and even as far as Jassy.

The Danube.—The Danube links together Wallachia, Moldavia, and the Dobruja, and affords a first-class line of communication between these regions; it also admits the whole of Rumania to the traffic of the Black Sea on the one hand, and on the other to that of Austria, Serbia, and Bulgaria. The breadth of the valley is from 6 to 16 miles, and the Bulgarian side is higher than the Rumanian. There are many islands in the river, especially below Giurgiu (Giurgevo). Below Silistra, where the river takes a northern turn, the valley opens out in the great Balta region, which consists of miles of lakes and marshes between the Dobruja on one side and the Baragan steppe on the other. After passing Brăila and Galatz (Galați) the Danube turns east again and makes its way by the Kilia, the Sulina, and the St. George arms, through the marshes and mud flats of the delta, to the Black Sea.

(3) CLIMATE

Rumania has a continental climate possessing much in common with that of south-western Russia. The summer is hot, the winter cold; at times the country is covered with snow, and communication becomes difficult. Spring is short; all through the year the rainfall is rather small. Autumn is the finest season.

There are two winds to which the country is exposed: the *crivăt*, which blows from east-north-east, and the *austru*, from west-south-west. These winds at times cause sudden changes in the temperature. The Rumanians themselves consider the climate to be temperate and agreeable. In the Dobruja the climate is more extreme both in summer and winter. Wallachia and Moldavia are lands of brilliantly clear skies and abundant sunshine. The temperature and rainfall at Bucarest and at Sinaia (in the Transylvanian Alps) are recorded as follows:

| <i>Mean Minimum Temp. Jan.</i> | <i>Mean Average Temp. Jan.</i> | <i>Mean Maximum Temp. July-Aug.</i> | <i>Mean Average Temp. July.</i> | <i>Mean Annual Rainfall.</i> |
|--|--|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| Bucarest 17° F. (— 8° C.) | 25° F. (— 4° C.) | 85° F. (30° C.) | 73° F. (23° C.) | 31 in. (810 mm.) |
| Sinaia 16° F. (— 9° C.) | | 71° F. (22° C.) | | 16 in. (410 mm.) |

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

The hygienic conditions of Rumania differ from those of central Europe in only two respects, but these are important. In the first place, malaria is prevalent in the low-lying parts along the Danube and in the lower regions of other large river-valleys, such as the Olt and the Pruth. The other disease which is more common in Rumania than in most other European countries, except Italy, is pellagra.

Malaria is found all along the Danube in Rumania; it becomes worse as one proceeds eastward. The great region from Călărași to Galatz is particularly unhealthy. In the Dobruja, where the climate is very severe, conditions are even worse. In 1854 a French expeditionary force wasted away almost as did the Walcheren expedition in 1809.

Pellagra is common among the peasants. The disease is chronic, and results in the death of the patient after

a number of years. Unlike malaria, it is not a disease which attacks strangers to the country, but is due in some obscure way to the conditions of life among the settled population.

Except with regard to malaria and pellagra, the Rumanian people is not especially subject to disease, although cholera and typhus have visited the country, and epidemics of small-pox are fairly frequent.

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

The origin of the Rumanians is to be traced to an amalgamation of the earlier Dacian inhabitants with the Roman colonists planted by Trajan to defend the Roman Empire against the northern barbarians. Dacia, which was a flourishing province, included the greater part of the modern Rumanian kingdom. In the year A.D. 270 the colony was abandoned by the Emperor Aurelian; and for a thousand years little or nothing is known regarding the country or its inhabitants. Whether, as some maintain, the native population preserved its identity unimpaired, or, as others hold, it withdrew to the south of the Danube, only beginning to return in the twelfth century (the country being meanwhile occupied by Slav tribes), it is certain that the present Rumanians are to a considerable extent the descendants of the Roman colonists of Dacia and of romanized Dacians; and they unquestionably exhibit kinship with the Latin peoples, often presenting strikingly Latin types. The Rumanian language has a grammar and syntax that are predominantly Latin, although there is considerable admixture of Slavonic words in the vocabulary. This last fact, as well as the fact that the traditional Rumanian law and many customs and popular beliefs are Slav in origin, show that the Slav element has certainly powerfully affected the Rumanian people; but (especially as found in Walla-

chia) it is nevertheless different in character from a Slav people. There are also traces of Bulgarian, Albanian, and Greek fusion ; but, in spite of all this, the astonishing vitality of the Latin element has certainly justified the Rumanians in their conscious identification of themselves with the Latin tradition. Quite different physical types are found. The Wallachian peasant type is generally regarded as superior to the Moldavian, having greater natural dignity and tending less to lethargy and depression.

Of the racial differences among the Rumanians the census returns take no account.¹ In central Moldavia there are thousands of inhabitants of Magyar descent (Csángos and Szeklers) ; the communes along the Danube have many inhabitants of Bulgarian and Serbian origin ; scattered over the country are hordes of gipsies, most of whom have settled in Rumanian villages. In the Dobruja the foreign element is strong—Turkish, Tatar, Bulgar, Russian, and German. Of the new population added in 1913 about one-third are said to be Bulgarians and one-third Moslems, only about one-fortieth of the whole being Rumanians. Rumanians (including the so-called Koutso-Vlachs²) are widely distributed in Transylvania, the Banat, Bukovina, Bessarabia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania, and Greece ; their total number (including those in Rumania) is probably between twelve and thirteen millions, of whom 1,472,000 are in the administrative district of Transylvania.

¹ See, however, racial estimates on p. 13.

² The Koutso-Vlachs speak a language closely akin to Rumanian, and are claimed by the Rumanians as co-nationalists. They are found to the number of about 300,000 in Macedonia and the neighbouring regions.

(6) POPULATION

Distribution

The total population of Rumania as given by the census of 1912 was 7,234,919. The distribution in the historical divisions of the country was as follows :

| | <i>Per cent.</i> |
|------------------|------------------|
| Moldavia | 2,139,154 = 29·5 |
| Muntenia | 3,302,430 = 45·6 |
| Oltenia | 1,412,905 = 19·6 |
| Dobruja | 380,430 = 5·3 |

The urban population accounted for 18·4 per cent. and the rural population for 81·6 per cent. of the total. This was practically the same proportion as in 1899. Bucarest was the only city with more than 100,000 inhabitants: in 1912 it had 341,321, an increase of 65,143 since 1899. There were fourteen towns with more than 20,000. The average density of population was 143 per square mile, varying from 38 per square mile in Tulcea to 243 per square mile in Ilfov.

By the Treaty of Bucarest (1913) Bulgaria ceded to Rumania 2,983 square miles¹ of territory with a population of 273,090, raising the population given in the 1912 census to 7,508,009. Allowing for increase of births over deaths in 1913, the population had increased in 1914 to about 7,626,000, which would make the average population per square mile about 140 at the outbreak of the European War.

In general the population is denser in the industrial and commercial regions; it is also denser in the plains than in the hill districts and the regions adjoining the

¹ This is the area resulting from measurements taken from the maps attached to the Rumanian official edition of the Treaty of Bucarest. The official *Dicționarul Statistic* does not give any figure for the area of the new territory.

marshes. According to the census of 1912 the distribution of the population varied in the historical divisions of the country as follows :

| | | | | | <i>Inhabitants per square mile.</i> | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|-----|
| | | | | | <i>Urban and rural</i> | |
| | | | | | <i>populations</i> | |
| | | | | | <i>together.</i> | |
| | | | | | <i>Rural</i> | |
| | | | | | <i>population.</i> | |
| Moldavia | . | . | . | . | 144 | 113 |
| Muntenia | . | . | . | . | 162 | 126 |
| Oltenia | . | . | . | . | 151 | 134 |
| Dobruja | . | . | . | . | 62 | 46 |

The proportion of the urban population in the Dobruja was about 25 per cent. of the total ; on the other hand the urban percentage was only 10 in Oltenia. In Moldavia it approximated to that of the country as a whole, being 18·2 per cent. In Muntenia the urban population represented a proportion of 21·2 per cent. Such proportions are still perhaps generally true, but the density of population must have been affected in certain areas by military operations. Thus the population of Bucarest (Bucureşti), which was 345,628 in 1914, is said to have fallen to 308,987 on January 6, 1917. The estimated populations of the other principal towns in 1914 were : Jassy (Iaşi), 76,120 ; Galatz (Galaţi), 72,512 ; Brăila, 65,911 ; Ploesti, 57,376 ; Craiova, 51,877 ; Botoşani, 32,874 ; Buzău, 29,483 ; Constanza (Constanţa), 27,662 ; Bârlad, 25,367 ; Focşani, 25,287. These figures represent, in all cases, slight increases over those given in 1912.

With respect to nationality no figures more recent than those of 1899 can be given, when the classification was as follows : Rumanians, 5,489,296 (92·5 per cent.); foreign Jews, 5,859 (0·1 per cent.); Jews under Rumanian protection, 256,588 (4·3 per cent.), besides some 22,072 of foreign extraction, also under Rumanian protection ; other subjects of foreign states, 182,975 (3·1

per cent.). The subjects of foreign states were made up as follows: Austro-Hungarians, 104,108; Turks, 22,989; Greeks, 20,057; Italians, 8,841; Bulgarians, 7,964; Germans, 7,636; Russians, 4,201; Serbians, 3,989; French, 1,564; various, 1,626.

Movement

The average annual increase by excess of births over deaths in the period 1903-12 was 103,968, or 14 per thousand of the population. The number of births and deaths, with surplus of births over deaths, was as follows for the three years 1912-14:

| <i>Years.</i> | <i>Births.</i> | <i>Deaths.</i> | <i>Surplus of Births over Deaths.</i> |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|---|
| 1912 . . . | 314,090 | 165,616 | 148,474 |
| 1913 . . . | 309,625 | 191,689 | 117,936 |
| 1914 . . . | 327,345 | 182,949 | 144,396 |

The death-rate was high (26.1 per 1,000 in 1913) owing to the epidemic of cholera ensuing on the Balkan War of 1913, but the rate of mortality, even in ordinary years, is among the highest in Europe. For the period 1891-1900 it was 29.2, and for the period 1901-10 it was 25.2.

The illegitimate births in 1913 were about 7.9 per cent. of the total number. The death-rate for children up to 5 years of age is about 50 per cent. of the total death-rate. About one-fifth of the infants die in their first year; at the end of the fifth year only one-third survive. Since the census of 1899 the population has increased by 21.5 per cent. : 22.3 per cent. in the rural communes, and 18.1 per cent. in the towns. The increase would have been still greater but for the epidemic of cholera above alluded to and the great emigration of Bulgarians, Serbs, Albanians, Turks, &c., which followed on the Balkan Wars.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1300–1400. Gradual formation of principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.
- 1456. Wallachia falls under the domination of the Turks.
- 1458–1504. Stephen the Great, Prince (Voivode) of Moldavia, defeats Turkish invasions and annexes Polish province of Pokutia.
- 1593–1601. Michael the Brave, Prince (Voivode) of Wallachia, is recognized by the Emperor and the Sultan as Viceroy of Transylvania, and assumes government of Moldavia.
- 1714. Fall of Constantine Brancovan, Prince (Voivode) of Wallachia, and beginning of more direct Turkish domination in Wallachia and Moldavia.
- 1714–1822. Phanariote Period.
- 1774. Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji gives Russia right to interfere in the Danubian Principalities.
- 1777. Austria annexes the Bukovina.
- 1782. Russian consulate established at Bucarest.
- 1798. Formation of National Party.
- 1806–12. Occupation by Russian troops of the Principalities during Russo-Turkish war.
- 1812. Treaty of Bucarest. Principalities restored to Turkey. Russia retains Bessarabia.
- 1812–22. Rise of Hetairist movement for the liberation of Greece.
- 1822. Outbreak of Alexander Ypsilanti's rebellion in Moldavia. End of Phanariote rule in the Danubian Principalities. Rumanian nobles appointed Hospodars by the Porte. Russia intervenes with the consent of the Powers.
- 1826–34. Status of Principalities defined by Convention of Akkerman (1826) and the Treaty of Adrianople (1829). The *Règlement Organique* drawn up under

- the supervision of Kisselev, commander of the Russian army of occupation.
1848. Revolutionary movement fails in Moldavia and Wallachia.
1849. Convention of Balta Liman. Russia acts on an equal footing with Turkey, legal suzerain of the Principalities.
1856. Treaty of Paris. The Great Powers substitute a guarantee for a Russian protectorate of the Principalities. Determination of frontiers. Free navigation of the Danube.
1858. Question of union of Moldavia and Wallachia.
1859. Alexander Cuza elected Prince by Moldavian and Wallachian assemblies. He forms new state of Rumania.
1864. Cuza's *coup d'état*.
1865. Rumanian Church proclaims itself independent of Patriarchate of Constantinople.
1866. Deposition of Cuza. Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen becomes Hereditary Prince of Rumania and takes the title of Carol I. Sultan agrees to a hereditary dynasty, but retains the control of Rumania's foreign relations.
- 1866-71. Internal reforms. Financial difficulties. Prince Carol threatens to abdicate.
1875. Commercial convention concluded with Austria-Hungary.
1876. Similar convention with Russia. Conference of the Powers at Constantinople.
1877. Secret Treaty signed between Russia and Austria-Hungary. Convention between Russia and Rumania. Russia undertakes to respect Rumania's political rights and to defend her integrity. Rumania proclaims her independence (May 21). Rumanian co-operation in Russo-Turkish War.
1878. Congress of Berlin. The Great Powers recognize independence of Rumania. Retrocession of Bessarabia to Russia in exchange for the Dobruja.
1881. Rumania proclaimed a kingdom (March 26).
- 1881-3. Negotiations on Danube question. London Conference. Secret defensive alliance signed between Rumania and Austria-Hungary.
- 1883-4. Constitution revised.

1885. Rumanian Church recognized as independent by the Patriarchate of Constantinople.
1886. King Carol, under pressure from Russia, declines throne of Bulgaria.
1889. Prince Ferdinand of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, nephew of King Carol, proclaimed heir to the throne. Gold standard introduced. New land law passed.
1905. Strained relations with Greece in regard to Koutso-Vlach question in Macedonia. Diplomatic relations broken off.
1906. Diplomatic relations with Greece again interrupted.
1907. Peasant revolt.
1908. Strained relations with Bulgaria in regard to Koutso-Vlach question.
- 1912-13. London Congress.
1913. Rumania granted Silistra with a radius of three kilometres by conference of ambassadors in St. Petersburg. War with Bulgaria, who finally agrees to Rumanian terms regarding Dobruja frontier. Rumania proposes an armistice (July 21), which is followed by a peace conference and by the Treaty of Bucarest.

(1) INTRODUCTORY

DURING the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia took shape in those areas which had formed, before six hundred years of migration and disturbance, the Roman province of Dacia, and which, after five scarcely less disturbed centuries, were to form the modern kingdom of Rumania.

The Principalities were created by Ruman immigrants from Hungary. The countries into which they came were inhabited by a mixed population of Romans, Tatars, and Slavs. How far the Ruman element predominated, and to what degree it represented the original Daco-Romans, are still matters of dispute among ethnologists. Rumanian sentiment holds the

theory of a Latin origin as an article of faith ; and the belief ¹ in it has been, for the last century, of great importance in giving Rumania a consciousness of isolation among her neighbours, and of spiritual affinity with western Europe.

Starting as semi-agricultural, semi-pastoral communities, under a feudal nobility subject in mediaeval times to the Hungarian crown, the two Principalities developed independently ; but the similarity of conditions that united them in a common subjection to the Turk in his power, as inevitably united them in a common revolt from the Turk in his weakness, and in a common existence as an independent kingdom.

(2) EARLY HISTORY OF WALLACHIA

After an early dependence upon Hungary, Wallachia fell under the domination of the Turks (1456). Because the prince (*Voivode*) was elected by the feudal nobility (*boyars*), with but general hereditary restrictions, civil strife was almost continuous ; and only under the rule of an outstanding man was the country able to obtain a notable degree of power. When the strong ruler died, the domestic anarchy, and with it the Turks, reappeared.

The two greatest Voivodes were Michael the Brave (1593-1601) and Constantine Brancovan (1688-1714). Michael twice defeated the Turks, and secured his own and his son's recognition by the Sultan. Secure in Wallachia, he then attacked Transylvania, was recognized as its viceroy by Emperor and Sultan, expelled the Voivode of Moldavia, and assumed the government of all three provinces. But on his assassination twelve

¹ On the other hand, the contrary view that the Rumans north of the Danube are recent immigrants has been used in Hungary as an argument against giving them equality of political rights.

months later his empire fell away. Constantine Brancovan is conspicuous for giving almost complete peace to Wallachia for a quarter of a century. A contemporary description of the country shows the care with which he developed its agricultural resources and encouraged the introduction of manufactures from Western Europe. The same observer, however, speaks of the utter poverty of the peasants.

The fall of Brancovan is significant of the principles governing Wallachian history. The Turks regarded him as too prosperous; his deposition was decreed. He was taken to Constantinople with his sons and there beheaded.

(3) EARLY HISTORY OF MOLDAVIA

The geographical position of the Moldavian Principality, which included the Bukovina, placed it at first more directly under the influence of Hungary and Poland than of the Turks. Its only outstanding Voivode, Stephen the Great (1458-1504), who at one time attempted to organize an alliance of the Christian Powers and Persia against Turkey, completely defeated three Turkish invasions during the first thirty years of his reign, and turned the tables on a Polish invader by annexing the Polish province of Pokutia, between the Carpathians and the Dniester.

But his successor submitted to Turkish suzerainty, and, except for a short interlude under a curious adventurer, Jacob Basilicus (1561-3), and a rebellion under John the Terrible (1572-4), the country shared the fate of Wallachia. Its tribute was gradually increased; its Voivodes were set up and deposed every few years; Turkish troops occupied its fortresses, and a contingent was sent to the Turkish army.

(4) THE PHANARIOTE PERIOD

In Wallachia after the fall of Brancovan, and earlier in Moldavia, Turkey farmed out the Voivodeship to rich Greeks of the Phanar (or lighthouse) quarter of Constantinople. This system was, from the Turkish point of view, both lucrative and safe. The new Voivodes could be replaced at frequent intervals, and they could find no dynastic support among the *boyars* or the people. For the provinces the new system had its gains and its evils. The Greeks were generally educated and often conscientious. Greek, and to some extent French, culture made some progress, and became fashionable. The traditional forms of government, which would have disappeared under the pasha system, were maintained. On the other hand, the Greek princes and their administrative clientèles, rapidly succeeding each other, caused a terrible financial strain upon the provinces. The very presence of the Greeks left the feudal nobility largely without duties, without the possibility of acting as leaders of the people, and anxious only to secure their share of the spoils. The higher offices in the Church and the richer monasteries were all in Greek hands. The native dislike for trade meant that the middle class was entirely foreign; and the peasantry, upon whom fell the whole burden of direct taxation, were thus left in dull and powerless hatred of the Greeks. Thus the positive good secured and the worse evils prevented were soon forgotten after the disappearance of the Phanariote regime, while the anti-Greek hatred engendered by the financial exactions remains, and has yet to be reckoned with, as an element of Rumanian national consciousness.

(5) PERIOD OF RUSSIAN INFLUENCE

The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774, safeguarded by later measures, gave Russia the right generally to supervise the interests of the Danubian Principalities. Russia's disinterestedness in the territorial integrity of the Principalities may be measured by her complete acquiescence in the annexation of the Bukovina by Austria (1774-7). But Russian influence was of great value in introducing, at least into Jassy and Bucarest, the French language and ideas. Further, the establishment of a Russian consul at Bucarest in 1782, with an almost unlimited power of interference, was followed within twenty years by the establishment of French and English consuls. A number of French émigrés and of revolutionary agents made their way into the country. By all these means the Principalities were brought definitely into the circle of European ideas. It is significant that a National Party formed in 1798 was called by its opponents the 'French party'. The financial oppression of the Turks still increased; and the Russian Government in 1802 extracted further concessions for the Principalities, and, as a corollary, a further increase in the Russian influence. The provinces were occupied by Russian troops during the Russo-Turkish War (1806-12); and, though they were restored to the Sultan by the Treaty of Bucarest in 1812, Russia kept Bessarabia. During the next ten years also the Hetairist movement for the liberation of Greece came to a head. The movement had for the greater part of the time its centre in Bucarest; and the rebellion of Alexander Ypsilanti broke out in Moldavia. But, though the sentiment of the two Principalities was anti-Turkish, it was also anti-Greek; and the rebellion was used by the Nationalist party in Wallachia to persuade the frightened Turk to remove the Phanariotes.

The Phanariotes were removed; but the Turkish troops sent to suppress Ypsilanti committed excesses in both the Principalities; and Russia, with the consent of the Powers, again intervened.

The status of the Principalities was again defined by the Convention of Akkerman (1826) and the Treaty of Adrianople (1829). The former confirmed previous liberties; the latter laid down that the princes were to be elected for life, that contributions in kind were to be abolished, and only a fixed annual tribute was to be paid. A Russian army remained in occupation to see that the treaty terms were carried out. Its commander, Kisselev, an able, honest, and liberal man, supervised the drawing up of an internal constitution in an instrument known as the *Règlement Organique*. This constitution, though maintaining the feudal privileges of the *boyars*, who formed the majority of its makers, was valuable in introducing western administrative ideas.

But direct interference by Russia did not end with the withdrawal of her troops in 1834; and therefore the momentary popularity which she had obtained very quickly disappeared. The Russian consular officials in the country were overbearing; Russian hostility to liberal ideas was severe and persistent. The material benefits gained were not considered; and the Nationalists began to think of a loose and ever-weakening Turkish suzerainty as most favourable to the growth of a Rumanian nationality. Nationalist ideas were spread further by the students who had been affected by the stimulating and often directly anti-Russian atmosphere of Paris. A literary revival took place in Rumania; newspapers were started at Jassy and Bucarest. Schools were founded, and—what was of importance—opened to the lower classes. The influence of the Rumanian schools in Transylvania;

from which most of the teachers were drawn, was aggressively nationalist, even to the extent of being anti-French. The aim of the Nationalists was the abolition of the *Règlement Organique*, since this instrument confirmed the oligarchical character of the Government and the right of foreign, i. e. Russian, interference. A secret society had existed for some years before the general revolutionary year of 1848, but it had no organized programme of aims or actions. Thus, though disturbances broke out in 1848 in both Principalities, nothing permanent was achieved. The Moldavian insurrection did not meet with popular support; it was suppressed by the local militia, and the province was occupied by Russian troops. In Wallachia the masses were won over by the promise of extensive agrarian reforms; but this very promise alienated the landowners, and the flight of the ruling prince Bibescu gave the opportunity for Russo-Turkish intervention. A reactionary settlement (the Convention of Balta Liman, May 1849) followed, in which Russia for the first time openly acted on an equal footing with Turkey, the legal suzerain.

(6) UNION OF THE PRINCIPALITIES

The Rumanian Nationalists now realized that they had no chance of overcoming Russian opposition unless they could secure European support. An active propaganda was carried on in the western capitals, notably in Paris, where the assistance of Napoleon III seemed not impossible. The Crimean War brought back the Russian armies; but in June 1854 the Russians retired, and Austrian troops were sent to take their place until the conclusion of peace.

In the negotiations at Vienna and Paris at the close of the war it was decided to substitute for the Russian protectorate a collective guarantee by the Great

Powers.¹ A purely nominal Turkish suzerainty was maintained; an 'independent and national administration' was guaranteed;² and no military intervention was to be allowed to Turkey without the consent of the Powers.³ Further, in order to put a barrier between Russia and the Slavs south of the Danube, the three southern districts of Bessarabia, following a line running from the Pruth, due west of Kishineff, through Bolgrad to the neighbourhood of Akkerman (Black Sea), were restored to Moldavia.⁴ The free navigation of the Danube was secured by setting up an International Commission for the improvement and maintenance of the waterway, &c.;⁵ and the Delta was subsequently restored to Turkey.⁶

The logical conclusion of the Treaty of Paris would have been to establish a united state of Rumania, in accordance with the obvious wishes of both Principalities. This conclusion was recognized by Napoleon III and assented to by Russia, who at this time wished to please Napoleon. Austria and Turkey objected; and England refused to agree to any actual dismemberment of Turkey. But Austria and Turkey did not venture to deny that the Rumanians had the right to unite; they based their objections on the ground that union was not desired by the people themselves. It had been arranged⁷ that a European Commission should examine at Bucarest, with a specially elected Divan or committee from each province, the laws and statutes of the provinces. The Commission was now requested to discover from the Divans the national sentiment on the question of union.

¹ Treaty of Paris, Art. xxii.

² Ibid. Art. xxiii.

³ Ibid. Art. xxvii.

⁴ Ibid. Arts. xx, xxi.

⁵ Ibid. Arts. xv-xix. See also *International Rivers*, No. 149 of this series.

⁶ Protocol of Paris, January 1857.

⁷ Treaty of Paris, Arts. xviii-xxv.

The elections to the Divans took place while the country was under Austrian military occupation, and were presided over by Turkish commissaries. The elections were palpably manipulated in the Austro-Turkish interest. France, Russia, Prussia, and Sardinia protested and demanded fresh elections. Napoleon paid a personal visit to Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort; but, in spite of this, and of the opinions of Gladstone, Lord John Russell, and others, the English official objection to the union remained unaltered.

New elections were held. The new assemblies met and asked (October 1857) for guarantees of autonomy and neutrality under Turkish suzerainty, and for the union of the two Principalities under a foreign hereditary prince, with one legislative assembly elected on a liberal franchise. A conference of ambassadors of the Powers (Paris, May–August 1858), however, decided that political union should not be granted; the two provinces were to be known as the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, but each should have its own native prince, elected for life, and its own assembly, elected for seven years. A central committee, composed of representatives of both assemblies and meeting at Focșani, was to deliberate upon common affairs; and the legal system and Court of Cassation were to be in common.

The decision of the Powers was nothing less than an invitation to rebellion. The Powers should never have asked for the Rumanian expression of will unless they were ready to give it a legitimate satisfaction. The consequence of their refusal was almost inevitable. The political leaders accepted the dispositions of the conference, and elections were held to choose the new rulers. On January 17, 1859, the Moldavian assembly unanimously elected Colonel Alexander John Cuza

(formerly Prefect of Galatz) as their prince ; and on February 5 the vote was repeated in the Wallachian assembly. France and Russia were apparently privy to the plan ; Great Britain joined them in an agreement to make an exception in the person of Cuza. Turkey had to follow suit ; Austria was too pre-occupied with Italian military preparations to think of active interference.

(7) EXPERIMENT OF A NATIVE PRINCE

The election of Cuza was ratified in 1861. In the following year the central committee was abolished, the two assemblies merged into one, and Bucarest made the capital of the new state. Cuza now began to carry out an extensive programme of reform. Universities were founded at Bucarest and Jassy ; elementary education was made compulsory. The Church was declared independent of the Greek Patriarchate in 1864 ; the ecclesiastical domains, amounting to nearly a third of the total area of the country, were taken over by the State. A land law (1864) was passed, enabling the peasants to obtain freehold properties varying from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 acres. Though the plots so obtained were in most cases too small to be of great value, and the peasantry, reduced by centuries of serfdom to habits of improvidence, in most cases still continued in a state of semi-dependence upon the great landowners, the measure had the immediate effect of creating a class of over 400,000 peasant proprietors.

The two main Rumanian parties now began to appear : the Conservatives (the Whites) under the leadership of Lascar Catargiu, and the Liberals (the Reds) under the joint leadership, until their quarrel in 1883, of John Brătianu and C. A. Rosetti. But Cuza found the constitution unworkable, and by a *coup d'état*, in 1864, expelled the deputies and

appealed for a plebiscite to give him the right of initiating legislation, and of nominating a Senate. The Chamber was to be elected by universal franchise. The appeal was overwhelmingly successful; and the *coup d'état* was recognized by the Powers. But Cuza's reforms had made him too many enemies, and his private life was not such as to secure him an independent moral standing in Rumania or elsewhere. A counter-movement took force in Bucarest, and Cuza was deposed. At the end of February 1866 he fled the country. The throne was now offered to Count Philip of Flanders, who refused it. Prince Charles, a younger son of the Catholic and South-German Hohenzollerns, was then approached. The Powers had, in the meantime, determined that the new prince was to be a native of the country. But Napoleon III openly, and William of Prussia tacitly, approved of Prince Charles's candidature. Acting, it is said, on the advice of Bismarck, the prince travelled in disguise through Austria, and landed at Turnu Severin on May 8, 1866. Two days later, amid scenes of great enthusiasm, he took the oath before the Rumanian parliament at Bucarest as Carol, Hereditary Prince of Rumania.

The Powers again accepted an accomplished fact, and Rumania had another lesson in the advantages of political opportunism.

(8) PRINCE CAROL AND RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE

The new prince, who was 27 years old at the time of his election, was a man of high character, good intelligence, and, what was of equal value, tact and patience. He is said to have remarked, in the early days of his reign, that he was called upon to consider innumerable questions 'which elsewhere chiefs of departments settle in the course of ordinary routine'. From the point of view of foreign policy the prince's sense of

duty and his own preferences were shown in a telegram sent by him to the King of Prussia in 1869 : ' *Bien que je sois aujourd'hui prince de Roumanie, je suis et je reste toujours un Hohenzollern.*' The prince married, in 1869, Elizabeth ('Carmen Sylva'), daughter of the Prince of Wied.

In October 1866 the prince went to Constantinople. The Sultan agreed to a hereditary dynasty, an army of 30,000 men, and the right to a separate coinage (bearing, however, Ottoman insignia). Foreign treaties of the Porte were only to be binding on Rumania when they did not interfere with her established rights; but the new principality could not conclude treaties or conventions directly with foreign Powers.

In the meantime a ministry of all parties was formed, and a new constitution promulgated, with an upper and a lower house of Representatives, ministerial responsibility, and a royal veto upon all legislation.

The situation was difficult. The treasury was empty, the floating debt some seven millions sterling; the army was ill-equipped and mutinous; there were no railways, and but few roads, with still fewer bridges. Administration was bad; the politicians had been educated on revolutionary formulas, and party spirit was high and undisciplined. Austria and Russia were complaisantly pessimistic about the future of a country where disorder and bankruptcy would but facilitate their interference. But by personal visits to St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Paris, Prince Carol managed to reassure Europe against any Rumanian 'irredentism' and to secure a breathing space for internal reforms. A concession was granted for the construction of a railway from Bucarest to Giurgevo; German experts came to reorganize the War Department and the army; a rural police was instituted; and a road tax (with an alternative of three days' personal service) set up.

Less commendable were the anti-Semitic measures, which brought about strong protests from Great Britain and France.

During the Franco-Prussian War Rumanian popular opinion was at first almost entirely on the side of France. A conspiracy against the German dynasty, organized in the expectation of a French victory, fell through after an abortive rising at Ploești. The situation was aggravated by a sudden financial crisis. A railway concession had been granted to a German firm in 1869; the coupons of the railway bonds were due on January 1, 1871; the contractors announced their inability to meet the payments. The burden thus fell upon the Rumanian Government; and Prussia threatened force if the coupons were not paid. Anti-German feeling now reached its climax in an attack on the German colony in Bucarest. The prince, after an unsuccessful appeal to the guaranteeing Powers to change the constitution, threatened to abdicate (March 1871).

This decision, and the victory of Germany in the war, had a sobering effect. At once a group of Conservatives, led by Catargiu, undertook to stand by the prince. This ministry—the fourth in five years—held office until 1876. Its last budget (£4,000,000) was nearly double that of 1866; and it was able to secure a 5 per cent. loan in Paris.

During its tenure of office the administration was modernized, the army became well organized and equipped, and, though the payment of tribute to the Porte continued, Rumania began to receive from the guaranteeing Powers the consideration due to an independent state. This was evidenced by the commercial convention concluded with Austria-Hungary, on the latter's initiative, on July 22, 1875, in spite of the opposition of Turkey, Great Britain, and France. For Austria-

Hungary it was a purely economic arrangement, in which she aimed at re-establishing the preponderance lost through the opening of the Danube to western trade; for Rumania the compact had primarily a political importance, and she therefore submitted to heavy economic sacrifices. Anxious not to appear as lagging behind in goodwill, Russia accepted a similar convention in the following year.

The liberal opposition in Rumania had, however, grown so restive at its exclusion from power that a revolution was threatened. The resignation of the ministry was necessary to save the country from civil war. Three new cabinets followed each other in quick succession. After the establishment of the third, under the Liberal Brătianu, popular opinion was preoccupied by the reopening of the Eastern question. The violent suppression of the Bulgarian revolt had rendered likely the outbreak of a Russo-Turkish war. Such a war was fraught with both beneficial and sinister possibilities for Rumanian independence.

The conclusion of the convention with Austria-Hungary had been indeed only the consummation of a change in the relations between the two countries which had set in almost at once after the creation of the German Empire. The new Central and East European policy, the foundation of which was laid in the interview between Bismarck and Beust at Gastein in the autumn of 1871, involved the inclusion of an independent Rumania, which should cover the flank of the Germanic advance to the south. Prussia therefore changed her tone with Rumania. Bismarck wrote to Prince Carol that he had reluctantly come to the conclusion that Russia's traditional policy was incompatible with an independent Rumania. The suggestion therefore was that Rumania's security lay in closer contact with Austria-Hungary. This advice was echoed in turn

from several other quarters, and by the summer of 1873 had matured into a definite suggestion of alliance by Count Andrassy, the new Austro-Hungarian Foreign Secretary. With the more urgent turn of events that policy was substantiated in the secret treaty concluded between Russia and Austria-Hungary in January 1877, when, in return for Austrian neutrality, Vienna stipulated, amongst other things, that Rumanian territorial integrity should be respected by Russia. In that treaty 'integrity' meant the situation before 1856, and therefore logically implied the retrocession of the Bessarabian districts to Russia; but, as Russia had undertaken not to acquire any territory on the right bank of the Danube, Austria-Hungary sought to maintain the separation of the Slav world by promising, immediately after the actual outbreak of war, to secure for Rumania a part of the Dobruja at the conclusion of peace, an arrangement which, so far, had not entered into Rumania's calculations.¹

There were Rumanian statesmen, like Cogălniceanu, who were inclined to place Rumania's fate in the hands of Austria, and even conceived the possibility of solving the Transylvanian problem by some measure of federation with Austria-Hungary. But Prince Carol, though anxious to shake off Turkish suzerainty, was determined that Rumanian independence should either be proclaimed by Europe or achieved by the Rumanians themselves, so that it should not form a ground for subservience to one of the neighbouring empires.

When, therefore, the conference of ambassadors attempted at Constantinople (November 1876) to settle Balkan affairs, Prince Carol asked that Rumania's course of action in the case of a Russo-Turkish war should be defined, and her neutrality guaranteed by

¹ Dispatch of the Rumanian agent in Vienna, Bălăceanu, July 20, 1877.

the Powers. The Conference refused the request. Russia had already shown her impatience, and had threatened to occupy Rumania if Turkey occupied Serbia and Montenegro. A Rumanian delegation to the Russian General Headquarters succeeded in postponing any definite declaration by Rumania. Prince Carol temporized further in January with a Russian offer (coincident with the Russo-Austrian secret agreement) guaranteeing integrity 'for the duration of the war', and with the Turkish offer to combine against Russia; but finally decided to regularize, by a convention, contingencies which it was hardly in his power to avoid. He sanctioned, on April 16, 1877, a convention by which, in return for free passage and friendly treatment for her armies, Russia undertook to respect Rumania's political rights, as well as 'to maintain and defend her actual integrity'.

Rumanian public opinion had, between January and April, been aroused by Turkey's official language about the country as one among other similarly privileged provinces, and as inhabited by 'Ottoman subjects'. An offer of military co-operation was contemptuously rejected by the Tsar, who declared that 'it was only under the auspices of the Russian forces that the foundation of Rumania's future destinies could be laid'. But that co-operation had insistently to be asked for after the second battle of Plevna; and the demand of Prince Carol, that the independent formation and command of the Rumanian army should be maintained, received more than satisfaction by his appointment to the supreme command of the Russo-Rumanian armies massed round Plevna. It is doubtful whether this, or the unquestioned acknowledgement of the Rumanian authorities and public liberties, would have been granted had the throne been occupied by a native prince.

(9) THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN (1878) AND RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE

Notwithstanding the valuable assistance given by the Rumanian army, particularly in the third battle of Plevna, Rumania was neither consulted concerning the treaty which was concluded at San Stefano (March 3, 1878), nor invited to participate in the deliberations. Rumania's independence, proclaimed by her Parliament on May 21, 1877, was recognized (Art. V).¹ Russia obtained from Turkey the Dobruja to a line south of, and roughly parallel to, the Constanza-Cernavoda line, and the delta of the Danube, reserving the right to exchange these territories with Rumania for the three southern districts of Bessarabia (Art. XIX). This provision was not altogether unexpected in Rumania, but it was hoped that the valuable assistance of the Rumanian army and the Convention of April 16, 1877, would have been a sufficient safeguard against it. The Rumanian Government now objected in a memorandum to the Powers on March 8 and on April 19, and, in a formal protest at St. Petersburg, actually invoked the Convention of April 16, 1877. But upon the terms of that instrument Gortchakoff put the slippery construction that, since the Convention was concluded in view of a war to be waged against Turkey, it was only against Turkey that Russia undertook to guarantee Rumania's integrity; Russia herself was not in the least bound by that arrangement. Further, the territories had been ceded not to Rumania, but to Moldavia, by the Treaty of Paris (1856), which, so far as Rumania was concerned, was obviously a dead letter.

The Treaty of Berlin so restricted the fruit of Russia's victory that the Powers were unwilling to oppose her on

¹ See text in *The Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series, App. IX.

minor points. Great Britain, though regarding with 'deep regret' Russia's persistence in demanding the Bessarabian districts, was not willing to go to war on the question. Bismarck did not wish to offend Russia. France and Italy were of like mind. The fate of the districts was consequently determined before the meeting of the Berlin Congress. In that assembly the question came up for discussion, and was practically settled on the very day when, after much argument, it was decided to allow the Rumanian delegates, Brătianu and Cogălniceanu, to defend their point of view before the Congress. The Treaty of Berlin finally recognized Rumania's independence 'on the same terms as those imposed on Serbia', and on the condition that Rumania accepted in exchange for the Bessarabian districts the Dobruja 'as far as a line starting from the east of Silistria, and terminating on the Black Sea, south of Mangalia', with the Serpent Island and the delta of the Danube.¹ The recognition of Rumanian independence was also made contingent upon the abolition of Article VII of the Constitution, which denied to non-Christians the right of becoming Rumanian citizens, and the emancipation of the Rumanian Jews.² The international position of Rumania was also defined, and she was allowed a representative on the International Commission of the Danube.

On August 20, 1878, the Rumanian Government addressed to the Powers a circular note, promising to carry out loyally these decisions, which indeed it could not refuse to accept. But, on submitting the Bill for Jewish emancipation to Parliament, the Government met with such opposition that they had to accept modifications which stultified the intentions of the

¹ Treaty of Berlin ; Protocol No. X and Arts. xliii, xlv, and xlvi. See *The Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series, App. X.

² Art. xlv.

Congress of Berlin. After exhausting negotiations, France, Great Britain, and Italy were prepared to accept a compromise, but Bismarck remained inflexible. It soon became obvious, however, that Bismarck was using the Jewish question only as a means for securing a favourable settlement in a long-standing dispute between the Rumanian Government and a German concern interested in the Rumanian railways.¹ Rumania submitted to heavy financial sacrifices, whereupon Bismarck at once insisted on the formal recognition of Rumania's independence (February 1880).

Equally protracted and harassing were the negotiations concerning the delimitation of the Dobruja. Bessarabia was 'evacuated' by the Rumanian authorities, who then, upon a European mandate, took possession of the Dobruja, although a certain current of Rumanian opinion advocated the refusal of it, as a passive protest against the high-handedness of Russia and the Powers. As the newly-created state of Bulgaria was at the time little else than a detached Russian province, Russia, alone among the Powers, opposed and succeeded in preventing the demarcation of a strategically sound frontier for the new Rumanian province, which would have included Silistra.

A third question arising from the dispositions of the Congress of Berlin was that of the Danube navigation, which neither the numerous Commissions, nor the notes exchanged, nor the Conference which met in London in April 1883, were able to bring to a satisfactory conclusion. Indeed, it is interesting to note that all the three questions of international import concerning Rumania which were raised by the Congress of Berlin still await solution.²

¹ See pp. 29 and 118.

² See Appendix to this book; also No. 15 of this series (IV, *The Danube Question*); and *International Rivers*, No. 149, §§ 19-23.

The consolidation of the state was completed on March 26, 1881, when Parliament unanimously proclaimed Rumania a kingdom. The time was ripe for this measure, but the circumstances of the proclamation were significant of the lack of balance in Rumanian politics. The Conservative opposition used the excitement aroused by the assassination of the Czar, Alexander II (March 13, 1881), to start an agitation against the Liberal Government. In order to refute charges of republicanism this Government then proposed that Prince Carol should be elevated to the rank of monarch. As King Carol had no heirs, a family pact signed at Sigmaringen (November 1880) upheld Article LXXXIII of the Rumanian Constitution, according to which the succession to the throne passes, in the absence of direct male heirs, to the ruler's eldest brother and his descendants. Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern thus became heir to the throne; he subsequently renounced his rights in favour of his sons, the eldest of whom, Prince Ferdinand (born 1865), was formally proclaimed heir-apparent to the Rumanian throne on March 18, 1889.

(10) FOREIGN POLICY (1880-96). AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN ALLIANCE

The kingdom of Rumania had no historical, geographical, or important ethnographical points of contact with the region south of the Danube; the aims of a future 'irredentist' policy could only have embraced neighbouring tracts of foreign territory inhabited by Rumanians. Down to the date of the Berlin Congress such tracts were confined to Austria-Hungary, but by that Congress a similar sphere of attraction for Rumanian aspirations was created in Russia. Russia's conduct, which had been strongly condemned by her own public opinion, had aroused much bitterness;

and a certain uneasiness was caused by her supreme influence in Bulgaria. Russian intentions in that direction aimed at the creation of a Russian protectorate; the province was then to be linked up to the Russian Empire by the annexation of the Dobruja, and enlarged by union with Eastern Rumelia. The plan was to be put into application after the fall of Prince Alexander of Battenberg. When that event took place, in 1886, the anti-Russian party which succeeded to power in Bulgaria offered the throne to King Carol, who was not altogether opposed to such a personal union, while his Government vigorously supported it. But Russian opposition was so categorical, and her threats so comprehensive, that the Bulgarian offer was rejected.

Though it was in Rumania's interest to maintain friendly relations with both neighbouring empires, the new situation created by her independence, and the changes which were then taking place in the grouping of the European Powers, made it imperative that she should secure the effective support of either Russia or Austria-Hungary for a case of emergency. Rumanian opinion was divided. The prince was much attracted towards the Central European group; and his bias was fostered by overtures from Vienna and Berlin. Austria-Hungary had given much friendly diplomatic assistance in the difficulties which had arisen for Rumania from the Berlin Convention; and the generation of 1878, which gradually came to the front in politics, could not forget the humiliation of the country by Russia. The influence of German education was also great. Many prominent statesmen were educated in Germany; the German Evangelische Knaben- und Realschule in Bucarest, which is directly under the control of the German Ministry of Education, has had a larger number of scholars than any other school in the capital. Further, as time went on, German finance

acquired a hold on the country, and bound over the richer classes in the German interest.

On the other hand, there was an anti-German party, the strength of which was due to tradition, to community of religion with Russia, and to the absence of any Russian merchants (and hence of irritating petty commercial quarrels). This party had, naturally, most of its adherents among the *boyars* and the peasants. It became of more importance with the growth of irredentist sentiment. Magyar oppression in Transylvania was indeed no worse than Russian oppression in Bessarabia; but the Rumanians in the latter province were only peasants, while those in Transylvania were a solidly established and spirited middle class, whose protests kept pace with oppressive measures.

Matters soon came to a crisis. Rumanian public opinion as a whole greatly resented Austrian attempts, during the negotiations on the question of the Danube (1881-3) and at the London Conference (1883), to acquire a preponderant influence on the Lower Danube, which, it was said, would have amounted in fact to a protectorate over Rumania. While the Rumanian Government notified the Powers that it could not recognize the dispositions of the London Conference, in which it had not been allowed to participate, Austria claimed for them an executive character. In the summer of 1883, certain irredentist remarks were made by a Rumanian member of Parliament at a semi-official banquet at Jassy following the unveiling of a statue of Stephen the Great. The incident was at once exploited; and unwarranted proportions were given to it by the Austro-Hungarian Government, which went so far as to declare that Rumania was seeking war. The unreasonable attitude of the Rumanian opposition only rendered more acute a situation dangerous in itself, and the Government therefore welcomed an

invitation to King Carol to visit Berlin. On his way home, the King passed through Vienna. A few days later, the Rumanian Prime Minister, John Brătianu, senior, went to Vienna, where he had a long interview with Count Kalnoky (September 24, 1883). Two days later he met Prince Bismarck at Gastein. The result was a secret defensive treaty of alliance between Austria-Hungary and Rumania, which also included provisions concerning a common policy in the East. The dispositions of the London Conference, on the other hand, were left in abeyance. It is significant that King Carol pledged himself to oppose any democratic changes in the Rumanian Constitution. The treaty was never submitted to the Rumanian Parliament; and remained generally unknown till its production by the King at the Crown Council of 1914. Notwithstanding this secrecy, and in spite of a subsequent tariff war and differences on the question of Danube control, Rumania was, until the Balkan War, a faithful 'sleeping partner' in the Triple Alliance, which, besides effecting certain occasional relaxations in the treatment of the Rumanians of Hungary, assured to Rumania the external security necessary for peaceful development.

The advent to power in 1895 of a notorious irredentist, Dimitru Sturdza, caused a momentary alarm in Austria-Hungary; but a meeting of the Emperor and King Charles in 1896 restored the former confidence. Two years later, relations with Russia were set on a better footing by a visit of the King to the Tsar.

(11) INTERNAL EVENTS, 1881-1907

The Constitution was revised in 1883-4, when, among other more or less technical changes, trial by jury was instituted for all press offences except those

against the Rumanian royal family and foreign sovereigns, and payment of members of the two Houses during the session was introduced. No further changes of importance took place. The opposition to the Liberal Government became so violent in 1887-8 that the Conservatives threatened a revolution in favour of Prince George Bibescu, if the ministers would not resign. Their resignation followed; and from 1888 to 1895—except for a short interval—the country was governed by a coalition of the older Conservatives and the Junimists, a body of young Conservatives who took their name from a club formed in Jassy in 1874. In 1895 a Liberal Ministry under Dimitru Sturdza succeeded to power; it fell four years later amid scenes of disturbance in Bucarest, and owing, largely, to a supposed weakness of attitude towards the Hungarian Government on the question of the Rumanian schools in Transylvania.

On the resumption of power by the Conservatives the country found itself faced by a financial crisis. Money had been borrowed too freely, and spent too lavishly; deficits were made good by the issue of treasury bonds. Two and a half millions of these bonds were almost due; the treasury was empty, the money market (1899-1900) unfavourable, and the year's harvest a failure. The Conservatives proposed a small reduction of expenditure and a large increase of taxation; the Liberals, a permanent annual reduction of expenditure by more than £750,000, and therefore only a slight increase of taxation. The electors naturally preferred the latter programme; and the Liberals, again under Sturdza, returned to office (1901-4). Sturdza's policy of retrenchment was followed by the opposition (1905-7), and continued by him on his recall to office during the agrarian troubles of 1907.

During this period, with a liberal supply of foreign

(primarily German) capital, extensive economic progress was achieved. In 1889 a gold standard was introduced. The railway service was improved and extended; works such as the harbour at Constanza and the Danube bridge at Cernavoda were constructed. A commercial marine was developed by the establishment of a State service of passenger and cargo steamers. A mining law, passed in 1895 in the face of very considerable opposition, gave to non-Rumanians the right to lease lands for long periods for the working of petroleum.

The two greatest difficulties, the land and the Jewish questions, were not, however, solved. The clause excluding Jews from Rumanian citizenship was deleted from the Constitution by order of the Berlin Congress; but naturalization had deliberately been made so difficult a process for the Jews—a special vote of the Legislature had been required, with a two-thirds majority for each individual case—that from 1880 to 1884 less than a fifth of the 385 persons who became naturalized Rumanians were Jews. No further change in the system took place; and the non-naturalized Jewish population in Rumania at the outbreak of the European war was about 300,000. These Jews were liable to military service and direct taxation, but were excluded from the franchise, had no civil rights, and could not own rural land.

The Jewish question is primarily economic, and is controlled very largely by the fear that the Jews would, by the lapsing of mortgages, acquire a preponderant ownership of small holdings in the country. The result of the Land Law of 1864¹ and the growth of absenteeism had actually been the rise of a new class of middlemen—generally Jewish—who rented the lands

¹ See above, p. 26.

from the *boyars* on a three or five years' lease, and lent money to the peasants on very hard terms.

In 1866 and 1872 and again in 1879 laws were passed to improve the position and increase the numbers of these small proprietors. These laws were not sufficient to prevent peasant risings in 1888 and 1889. In 1889 a new land law divided the State domains among the peasantry. The land was divided into lots of 12, 25, and $37\frac{1}{2}$ acres; and the peasants could purchase the smaller lots on very easy terms. The number of peasant proprietors was thus largely increased, but their position remained unsatisfactory. The smallness of the holdings and the bad farming habits and general ignorance of the peasants¹ continued to have baleful effects. Absenteeism also increased; and the selfish indifference of the upper classes left the peasants without any natural guidance.

The result was a very serious rising in 1907, directed first against the Jewish middlemen, but soon affecting all the large landowners. Towns and villages were sacked and partly burned; 140,000 soldiers were required to suppress the rebellion. A few military units became disaffected, and a number of landowners even advocated Austrian interference. As a result of this rebellion, the system of leasing public lands to middlemen was abolished, and new credit facilities were given to the peasants.

During the European war the desperate situation of the country resulted in a bold, though at the time unsuccessful, attempt to settle the great internal questions in a liberal spirit, and to rally the classes interested in their settlement. The peasants were promised land purchase and a wide franchise, and the Jews were promised civic equality (see p. 95).

¹ In spite of theoretically compulsory education, the national educational budget has been so small that 60 per cent. of the population are illiterate.

(12) THE BALKAN WARS AND THE END OF THE
ALLIANCE WITH AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

During the peaceful era of the Austro-Hungarian alliance Rumania gradually became estranged from Bulgaria and Greece. Bulgaria had never razed the fortifications on the Rumanian frontier, in accordance with the terms of the Berlin Treaty; and Bulgarian official publications spoke of the Dobruja as *Bulgaria irredenta*. Further, the question of the Koutso-Vlachs had resulted in a triangular campaign in Macedonia. Relations were especially strained with Bulgaria in 1908, when a Bulgarian court acquitted the Bulgarian murderers of a Rumanian propagandist; and with Greece in 1906, when the Patriarch and Greek organizations opened a campaign of persecution against the Koutso-Vlachs after the definite recognition of the latter as Rumans by the Sultan. Diplomatic relations with Greece were actually broken off in 1905, 1906, and 1910.

It was natural therefore that there should have been some suspicion among Balkan circles that the visit of various Turkish statesmen and of the heir to the throne, Prince Izzeddin, at Bucarest, had been the occasion of a Turco-Rumanian military convention; and therefore the participation of Rumania was not sought when the Balkan League was formed, though the idea of such a league had been put forward by Prince Carol in the first year of his reign. The first intimations of the forthcoming action of the League were accompanied, on the part of Bulgaria, by an acknowledgment of Rumania's right to certain compensations in return for friendly neutrality; and Rumania submitted at the London Congress (1912-13) a claim for the rectification of her Dobrujan frontier, following the line Tutrakan-Balchik. At the request of

the Powers, Rumania accepted the arbitration of the conference of ambassadors in St. Petersburg, which granted her Silistra with a radius of three kilometres. Rumanian opinion was very unfavourable to this decision, and Parliament difficult to convince; and the attitude of the Bulgarian delegates did not allow the demarcation of the boundary to be carried to a conclusion.

When the possibility of a conflict between the Balkan allies became evident, Rumania warned Bulgaria that such a contingency would force her to intervene. So early as 1880, Prince Carol had remarked to Bismarck that Rumania would only be menaced by a real danger when a Great Bulgaria came into existence. This danger now threatened; and Rumania, moreover, could not allow Serbia, her one possible ally in case of a conflict with Bulgaria, to be crushed. Incensed public opinion would have forced action which the Government might have felt reluctant to undertake. Accordingly, when war broke out between the Bulgarians and the Serbians and Greeks, on June 29, 1913, the Rumanian armies overran a considerable portion of Bulgaria, though no actual collision occurred with Bulgarian troops, which withdrew before them; the Rumanians, at the request of the King of Bulgaria, refrained also from entering Sofia. As Turkey also seized the opportunity to recover Adrianople, the position of Bulgaria was hopeless. She therefore agreed to accept the Rumanian terms regarding the frontier in the Dobruja; and Rumania proposed an armistice on July 21, to which Greece and Serbia were induced to consent. Rumania's preponderant position was recognized by the holding of the Peace Conference at Bucarest, under the presidency of her Prime Minister, Mr. Maiorescu. The Rumanian demands concerning the new frontier in the Dobruja, from Tutrakan to Ekrene, were accordingly embodied in Art. II of the Treaty of

Bucarest of 1913, Rumania acquiring an accession of territory of about 2,900 square miles, with a population of about 280,000.

The rôle of Germany and Austria-Hungary in the events of 1912-13 induced a change in the foreign policy of Rumania, who sought to guard herself by closer relations with Russia against a Bulgaria subjected to Central European influence. The effect was visible in the scant support which action on the side of the Central Powers received at the Crown Council of August 4, 1914, when the King produced the secret treaty of 1883. The policy of intervention on the side of the Central Powers was favoured by the King and two statesmen only.

NOTE A.—THE QUESTION OF THE DANUBE¹

‘The fate of Rumania was, and ever will be, closely connected with the freedom of the Danube.’—*King Carol I.*

The question of the Danube has been dealt with repeatedly in conferences and congresses, but these have led only to compromises, either on political lines or promoting particular interests, between the Powers interested in the navigation on the Lower Danube and the two chief riverain states, Russia and Austria-Hungary. The international principle has not been furthered in this way; the smaller riverain states have certainly not been benefited by the system, and the position of the Danube under international law has remained vague. And yet no river is more truly international, for not only does the Danube touch the territories of several states, but the freedom of its navigation is a matter of serious interest to many nations remote from its waterway.

In the Middle Ages the traffic on the Danube was of

¹ For a summary of the Danube question see *The Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series; and *International Rivers*, No. 149.

considerable importance, but with the coming of the Turks the free use of the river was lost. Austrian ships were only allowed to descend as far as Belgrade, where the goods had to be trans-shipped into Turkish boats; and the ports on the Lower Danube—Vidin, Giurgiu, Ruschuk, &c.—had also become mere ports of trans-shipment. The Treaty of Passarowitz (1718), which granted freedom of trade on land and water, with special privileges for Austrian subjects, effected a certain improvement. But the situation acquired a totally new aspect when Russia, which had steadily expanded southwards, reached the Danube. The Treaty of Bucarest (1812) brought her frontier down to Kilia, the northernmost arm of the Danube delta, while the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), fixing the boundary at the southernmost arm, St. George, placed the whole delta under Russian domination.

The effects of these changes were soon to become apparent. By means of extensive works Turkey had kept open in the arm of Sulina a navigable channel, 16 ft. deep. Traffic had been steadily increasing. After the opening of the Black Sea to foreign trade, Metternich encouraged the foundation of an Austrian navigation company, whose vessels were to call at the Danubian and even the Levantine ports. But, in order to force the Black Sea traffic to Odessa, Russia abandoned the work previously undertaken by the Turks at Sulina; and in 1836 she established a quarantine at the Sulina mouth, the goods having to be taken to Odessa for disinfection. To safeguard her interests Austria concluded a convention with Russia (November 13, 1840), the latter undertaking to keep the mouths of the river in navigable condition and to build a lighthouse; trade was declared free, and the taxes were fixed which Russia could impose upon shipping. But the arrangement remained a dead letter. The lighthouse

was never built, and in 1853 the depth of the channel had been reduced to $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. Navigation became so dangerous that freight from Constantinople to Galatz cost over £1 per ton more than to Odessa, though the distance was the same.

Meanwhile the attention of the Powers of Europe was more and more drawn to the question of the Danube, owing to the increasing importance of the Danubian and Black Sea corn-lands to Western Europe; further, the political events which led to the Crimean War necessarily emphasized the political importance of the river. Accordingly, the second of the four points contained in the notes exchanged at Vienna on August 8, 1854, between the representatives of Great Britain, France, and Austria, declared that relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire could not be established on a secure footing 'if the navigation at the mouths of the Danube be not freed of all obstacles, and made subject to the principles laid down by the Congress of Vienna'. The scope of this declaration was expounded by Lord Clarendon in a dispatch to the British envoy, Lord Westmorland. 'A general treaty', he wrote, 'ought to ensure for that purpose the establishment of an independent authority, which should have the right and the power to remove all obstacles placed by Russia in the way of free navigation on the Sulina arm, and such obstacles as may arise in the future.'

In the Treaty of Paris (March 30, 1856), which terminated the Crimean War, the principle of international control as laid down by the Congress of Vienna was accepted and extended to the whole Danube.¹

¹ The Congress of Vienna had not concerned itself with the Danube, because Turkey was not at that date included in the European state system.

Navigation was declared free. Two commissions were created :

1. A Danube European Commission consisting of delegates from Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, and entrusted with the execution of the works necessary to render the mouths of the river navigable by removing all impediments. Its power extended to Isaccea, some way above the delta. It was to be temporary, and it could levy dues at a reasonable rate to cover expenses, subject to the proviso that vessels of all flags were to be treated on a footing of complete equality.

2. A Danube River Commission (Riverain Commission) consisting of delegates from all the riverain states—Austria, Bavaria, the Sublime Porte, and Württemberg—together with representatives of the three Danubian Principalities (Serbia, Wallachia, and Moldavia), and entrusted with the preparation of regulations and the improvement and maintenance of navigability of the river. It was to be permanent, and was to take up the functions of the European Commission on the dissolution of that body.

The rectification of her Bessarabian frontier in another article of the treaty removed Russia from the banks of the Danube ; and in consequence Austria, who disliked international control of the river except when it operated as a check on Russian ambitions, at once exerted herself to minimize it by the action of the Riverain Commission, in which she played a leading rôle. This body produced (November 7, 1857) a Navigation Act which embodied principles directly opposed to those of the Congress of Vienna. River traffic was reserved for riverain states ; goods excluded by the tariff of any riverain state were excluded from the whole course of the river ; riverain states reserved the right to levy dues for the upkeep of works and the improvement of navigation. The Powers rejected the

Act as contrary to the spirit of the treaties, and the Riverain Commission thereupon ceased to exist.

The time-limit of the European Commission was extended from year to year, and for a further period of five years by the Paris Conference of 1866. The same Conference ratified a Public Act determining the rights and duties of the Commission. It was declared to have authority over the mouths of the Danube, and to design and carry out necessary works, to be entitled to levy dues to cover expenses, to enact binding regulations and supervise the navigation, and to enjoy the benefit of neutrality in time of war. It will be convenient to add here the terms of the additional Act of 1881. The Treaty of Berlin (1878) made the European Commission entirely independent of the territorial authority; and it consequently became necessary to revise the terms of the Public Act. According to the Additional Act the European Commission is a 'juristic person of Public International Law'. It appoints, pays, and dismisses its functionaries, who are chosen without distinction of nationality, and take an oath of allegiance to the commission. Disputes are settled in its name. It exercises financial control, undertakes works on the river without reference to the territorial authorities, possesses ships and a recognized flag; and its property, works, and staff enjoy the benefits of neutrality.

The Conference of 1866 also adopted the Regulation appended to the Public Act, and applicable to the navigation of the Lower Danube.

Russia had never digested the restrictions imposed on her activity by the Treaty of Paris, and missed no opportunity of weakening them. Taking advantage of the conflict of 1870, the Russian Chancellor Gorchakoff issued a circular declaring that the Emperor 'could no longer consider himself bound by the stipulations of the Treaty of 1856, in so far as they trench-

upon his sovereign rights in the Black Sea'. As things were, it was impossible to oppose to the Russian claims the will of a united Europe; on the other hand, it became imperative to secure further the liberty of the Danube navigation, now that Russia had expressed her determination to rule on the Black Sea. A conference was consequently summoned to London in March 1871, and decided that

1. The Black Sea was no longer neutral.

2. The Powers of the European Commission were extended to April 24, 1883.

3. The Powers possessing that part of the Danube where the cataracts and Iron Gates offered impediments to navigation were to have the right to levy a provisional tax on vessels of every flag which might henceforth benefit by the removal of those impediments, until the extinction of the debt contracted for the execution of the works.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8 Russia disregarded the various treaties and conventions; all traffic on the Danube was stopped, the buildings of the European Commission were wantonly destroyed, and its staff was summarily ordered away. At the Berlin Congress of 1878, Lord Beaconsfield protested against the proposed retrocession of Bessarabia to Russia, as Article XX of the Treaty of Paris expressly declared that Russia agreed to that rectification of the frontier 'in order that the freedom of the Danube navigation may be better secured'. But, after a prolonged discussion between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian representatives, it was agreed that the channel of the Kilia arm and the mouth of Stari Stambul were to form henceforward the southern boundary of the Russian Empire, while the delta with the Dobruja and Serpent Island were to go to Rumania, who was now to be represented on the European Com-

mission. The execution of the works at the cataracts and Iron Gates was entrusted to Austria-Hungary. The powers of the European Commission were extended to Galatz, and it was empowered to formulate, in co-operation with delegates from the riverain states, regulations for the navigation from the Iron Gates to Galatz in harmony with those in force from Galatz to the sea (Articles LII-LV).

In accordance with this last disposition a sub-committee, composed of the delegates of Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy, was entrusted with the preparation of a draft. It went somewhat beyond its functions in proposing the creation of a Mixed Commission, composed of the delegates of the three riverain states and an Austrian delegate who should preside by right and possess a casting vote. This proposal, introducing as it did an element of Austrian control over a portion of the river where Austria was not a riverain state, reflected the influence of Austria, who considered that her interests on the Danube were paramount, and was distasteful to various Powers, and especially to Rumania, who recorded an energetic protest. A modified proposal was put forward by the French delegate to the European Commission, M. Barrère, according to which the number of the Mixed Commission was to be raised to five by the addition of a member of the European Commission, to be chosen according to the alphabetical order in French nomenclature of the countries concerned and to sit for six months. This proposal had the advantage of depriving Austria-Hungary of the casting vote and of creating a link between the European and the Mixed Commissions. But, like the first scheme, it conceded to Austria the right to sit permanently on a body which controlled with final judicial authority a portion of the river where she was not riparian; and Rumania again

protested, with the result that, though Barrère's proposal was accepted, it was never carried into effect.

The European Commission was now approaching the term of its mandate—April 24, 1883. Two Powers, Russia and Austria-Hungary, were opposed to its continuance; Great Britain, whose commercial interests on the Danube were at that date at least equal to those of Austria, desired its continued existence and the extension of its powers to Brăila, the limit of sea-borne commerce on the river. To decide these points and to confirm the navigation regulations drawn up in virtue of Article LV of the Treaty of Berlin, a conference of the Great Powers—Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and Turkey—met in London in February 1883.

Of the minor riverain states Bulgaria, still a vassal of Turkey, was represented by the Turkish ambassador. Serbia and Rumania asked for admission, but were conceded a consultative voice only. Great Britain supported Rumania's claim to full participation, but the opposition of Austria and Germany was effective. Serbia ultimately accepted the restricted rôle allowed her, but Rumania, herself since 1878 a member of the European Commission, declined to be represented on such terms, and declared that the decisions of the Conference should not be binding on her.

The result of the Conference was that the powers of the European Commission were prolonged for twenty-one years, with subsequent tacit renewal for periods of three years; they were moreover extended to Brăila. The consent of Russia, however, was only obtained by allowing her complete control of the northern (Oksakov) mouth of the Kilia arm, while on the rest of the Kilia arm the two riverains (Russia and Rumania) were to apply the regulations in force on the Sulina arm. The regulations for navigation, river

police, and superintendence drawn up in 1882 were declared applicable between the Iron Gates and Brăila, but owing to Rumania's opposition and to her conclusion in the autumn of 1883 of a defensive alliance with Austria, they were never put in force.

The net results of the Treaty of London were :

1. The confirmation of the liberal interpretation of Article CIX of the final Act of the Congress of Vienna.

2. The establishment on the Danube of a plurality of regimes instead of the unity aimed at by the Congress of Vienna.

3. Disregard of the sovereign rights of the riverain states of the Lower Danube.

4. The maintenance and confirmation of an institution altogether exceptional, and at first only provisional, viz. the European Commission.

The situation on the Danube is therefore anomalous, and has given rise to evil of a more positive character. Among the greatest natural obstacles to navigation on that river are the rapids at the Iron Gates. The Berlin Congress had given Austria a mandate to execute the necessary works in order to create a free passage, with the right to levy a tax to cover the expenses. That mandate was subsequently transferred to Hungary, who in 1895 at last began the construction along the Serbian shore of a canal, which was finished in 1899. Austrian and Hungarian authorities themselves recognize the absolute inadequacy of the construction. The current is so rapid that even the most powerful Danube steamers have difficulty in passing up stream ; while, on the other hand, the canal is not deep enough to carry the traffic, which was, for instance, completely interrupted for two months in 1908 on that account. These natural difficulties are rendered more harmful by a system of onerous fiscal regulations. According to comparative figures given by the *Neue Freie Presse*, of

Vienna (April 12, 1899)—which publication is certainly not biassed in favour of Rumanian interests—the duties per ton of cargo at the Iron Gates were eight and a half times as heavy as the corresponding duties in the Nord-Ostsee canal, though the construction of the latter had necessitated an expenditure five times greater than that for the Iron Gates canal. Moreover, the towage duties were almost three times higher, though the respective distances compared as 1 to 56. The taxes were not uniform, but differed according to the class of goods, with the result that, to quote the Viennese paper again, ‘the burden falls primarily upon the traffic coming in transit from the Lower Danube up stream’, while ‘the traffic from Austria and Hungary—that is, our export of manufactured goods—suffers less than would have been the case had the duties been imposed on another basis’. In view of the opening of the canal, the Rumanian State Monopolies concluded in 1898 a contract with a south-German navigation company for the towage of oil-tank barges to Regensburg (Ratisbon). The arrangement worked successfully in 1899, but broke down when the Hungarian Government enforced the new tariff of dues at the Iron Gates. The oil export has been since carried out by rail, and mainly by sea through Constanza. The Rumanian, Russian, French, and Bulgarian Governments lodged a protest against the Austro-Hungarian tariff, but no agreement could be achieved. Finally, though the region in question is partly Rumanian and largely Serbian, Hungary has created national agencies on foreign territory, imposing the Hungarian language for official use.

The Treaty of Bucarest (1918) reconstituted the European Commission, but made it consist solely of ‘representatives of states situate on the Danube or the European shores of the Black Sea’, thus contrast-

ing with the wider scope given by all previous treaties to international interests.¹

NOTE B.—THE QUESTION OF THE DOBRUJA

When the Congress of Berlin conceded to Russia the three southern districts of Bessarabia, it was agreed that Rumania should receive as compensation the delta of the Danube, Serpent Island, and the Dobruja. Disagreement immediately arose respecting the southern boundary of the last-named district, and especially the town of Silistra on the Danube, which Russia desired to reserve for Bulgaria, while Rumania coveted it as the most convenient point for bridging the Danube. After two years of abortive commissions, the Rumanian frontier was finally drawn so as to exclude this town and reach a point south of Mangalia on the Black Sea. Though this did not satisfy the aspirations of Rumania, it gave her some valuable territory which she has developed with energy and ability and at great expense. A magnificent bridge and causeway extending for more than 12 miles across the river and marshes was constructed at Cernavoda. A railway was built to connect that town with the main line and with the harbour of Constanza, which under Rumanian auspices has developed into a busy and thriving seaport.

Rumania, however, has never accepted her limitations to the south, and the Balkan Wars gave her an opportunity of reopening the question. By the Treaty of Bucarest (August 10, 1913) she secured the line Turtukai-Dobrich-Balehik, which had always been the object of her ambitions.

¹ For text of these articles, see *International Rivers*, No. 149 of this series, Appendix IV.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

The State religion of Rumania is that of the Orthodox Eastern Church. While the introduction of Christianity is generally attributed to the Slav monks Cyril and Methodius, the Latin origin of religious terms (*dumnezeu, cruce*, etc.) suggests that Christianity already existed during the Roman occupation. Slav influence probably coincided with the great Slav invasion in the sixth century; it was then that Slavonic became the language of the Church, persisting, like Latin in the west, until the sixteenth century. At that juncture, under the influence of a cultural and religious renaissance, it was replaced by Rumanian, only to be supplanted shortly afterwards by Greek, with the coming of the Phanariote regime.

Down to 1864 the Rumanian Church was subordinate to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In that year it was proclaimed independent, national, and autocephalous, though this change was not recognized by the Patriarchate till 1885; simultaneously, the secularization of the property of the monasteries put an end *de facto* to the influence of the Greek clergy. Religious questions of a dogmatic nature are settled by the Holy Synod at Bucarest, composed of the two Metropolitans and eight Bishops *in partibus*; the Minister for Education, who has administrative functions in connexion with the Church, having only a deliberative voice. As a reminiscence of the ecclesiastical com-

munity with the Rumanians of Hungary which existed in the sixteenth century, the Primate of Bucarest still bears the title of 'Metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia'; while the Metropolitan of Jassy is known as the 'Metropolitan of Moldavia and Suceava' (in Bukovina), from the time when Bessarabia and Bukovina formed an integral part of Moldavia.

For the purpose of ecclesiastical administration Rumania is divided into 366 urban parishes, with 596 churches, and 3,299 rural parishes, with 6,165 churches. The ecclesiastic personnel numbers about 8,000; its members have the character and position of public officials (Law of 1893). The clergy are married; the higher dignities, however, are only open to monks. Metropolitans and bishops are elected by the Synod, senate, and deputies, in a joint session.

There are about 60 convents, with roughly 1,700 monks and 2,700 nuns. The census of 1900 gave the following figures concerning the religious division of the population: 5,452,047 Orthodox Rumanians; 188,272 Roman Catholics (mostly foreigners), with 130 churches; 24,180 Protestants (all foreigners), with 18 churches, Lutherans being roughly in the proportion of 2 to 1; 6,598 Armenians, with 16 churches; 269,015 Jews, with 305 synagogues; and 43,740 Mohammedans, with 260 mosques; other creeds and denominations, 16,148. In northern Dobruja, in the larger towns of Moldavia, and in Bucarest there are a number of Russian *hipovans*, who have emigrated from Russia to escape the persecution of the official Church; they possessed 28 churches in 1900. The Roman Catholics have an Archbishop at Bucarest, and a Bishop at Jassy.

Religion has never played an important part in Rumanian national life, as is shown by the absence of religious conflicts and sectarianism. The causes of this

condition are historical and social. During the whole period of Rumanian subjection the language of the Church was foreign, and so were its higher clergy. The resulting religious passivity remained unstirred during the domination of the Turks, who contented themselves with treating the unbelievers with contempt, and made no attempt to interfere with their creed or worship. Not a single mosque was built on Rumanian territory during the four centuries of Turkish domination. During the decline of Turkish power, the language and administration of the Rumanian Church were Greek, and its centre of gravity was Russia; but the Greeks and the Russians were the two factors primarily responsible for Rumania's decadence in the eighteenth century, and for the trials of its recovery in the nineteenth—a fact not calculated to deepen the faith of the people or render the Church more popular with them.

The ecclesiastical reforms of 1864, which abolished the temporal privileges of the Church, erred through their purely negative character. No provision was made for the clergy when the wealth of the monasteries was converted to the State. They were left for thirty years in complete destitution, and remained, in consequence, outside the general intellectual and social development of the country—a situation the more damaging to their standing and reputation as the same period saw the rise of an all-powerful bureaucracy. Materially, their position was improved by the law of 1893, which included the priests among other Government officials; but the change was in other respects disadvantageous.

(2) POLITICAL

Constitution.—Rumania is a constitutional monarchy, governed, according to the Constitution adopted in 1866, by an assembly elected on universal suffrage. Certain modifications were introduced in 1879 and in 1884. The Constitution resembles that of Belgium more than any other.

The royal power is hereditary, in direct and collateral male line. In default of a male heir, the Senate and Chamber of Deputies in joint session have a right to choose a king among the royal families of western Europe. The person of the King is inviolable. He exercises his prerogatives through ministers responsible to Parliament.

The legislative power is vested in the King in Parliament. Parliament consists of a Senate (120 members) and a Chamber (183 members). The Universities of Bucarest and Jassy send each a member to the Senate, which also includes as *ex-officio* members the Heir-Apparent, the two Metropolitans, and the diocesan bishops. Senators must be forty years old and possess an income of £376. They are elected by two colleges of electors. The first, electing sixty senators, involves as qualification a yearly income from real property of at least £80; the second includes the owners of a revenue of from £32 to £80—from real property—as well as the manufacturers and merchants paying licence duties of the first or second degree. There are in addition a certain number of electors belonging to the liberal professions, or to some public service. The senators are elected for eight years; one-half of their number by lot seeks re-election every four years.

There are no property qualifications required for members of the Chamber, who must, however, have reached their twenty-fifth year. They are chosen by

three colleges of electors. The first elects 75 deputies, and is composed of owners of real property returning a minimum income of £48. The second college, which elects 70 deputies, is composed exclusively of town-electors, namely, members of the liberal professions and of the public services, persons paying a minimum direct tax of 20 *lei* (francs), persons in receipt of a public pension, &c. The third college elects only 38 deputies. It includes the mass of the rural population (which in 1912 formed 83·6 per cent. of the total population), and all those who enjoy political rights while not being qualified for any other college. But only literates in receipt of a yearly income of £12 are entitled to a direct vote ; of the rest, fifty citizens elect one delegate, who is entitled to one vote in the constituency of the district capital. The members of the Chamber are elected for four years. Both senators and deputies receive 20 *lei* for each day of actual attendance, and travel free on the railways.

The King may dissolve either or both assemblies, or convene a special session ; he may also temporarily veto any measure passed by Parliament. The initiative rests with either Assembly, the Cabinet, or the King ; the budget and the yearly bills fixing the strength of the army, however, must first be voted in the Chamber. Measures passed by Parliament and sanctioned by the King are promulgated in the *Monitorul Oficial*.

Executive power is vested in the King and a Council under the presidency of a Prime Minister, composed of nine ministers with equal cabinet rank and representing : the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Industry and Commerce, Agriculture and Public Domains, Finance, War, Public Worship and Education, and Public Works.

The Constitution proclaims the inviolability of domicile, the liberty of speech, of the press and of assembly,

and absolute liberty of creed and religion, in so far as the forms of religious celebration do not come into conflict with public order and decency. It recognizes no distinction of class and privilege, all citizens sharing equal rights and duties within the law. (Cf., however, pp. 41, 42 with regard to the position of the Jews.) Individual liberty and property are guaranteed; but only Rumanian citizens can acquire real property. Capital punishment does not exist, except for military offences in time of war.

Local Government.—The Rumanian administration is highly centralized, following in many directions the French model. For administrative purposes Rumania is divided into thirty-two departments (*judet*), each governed by a prefect nominated by the Minister of the Interior, with an elected council. The departments are subdivided into districts (*plasă*), which have at their head a sub-prefect dependent on the prefect. There are urban and rural boroughs, the administration of which is in the hands of a council and of a mayor (*Primar*) elected from among its members. The election of the Mayor must be sanctioned by the King, who has the right to dissolve the Communal Councils. All the permanent officials are nominated by the central authority.

The Judiciary.—The judicial organization of the country is centred in the Ministry of Justice. It comprises, as courts of first instance, justices of peace and tribunals, appeal being allowed from the first to the second. Assizes meet at fixed periods in the various departments for the hearing of criminal cases. There are four Courts of Appeal, in Bucarest, Jassy, Craiova, and Galatz. The highest court is the High Court of Cassation, at Bucarest, founded in 1861, with a civil and a criminal section. There are, in all, 141 Justices of the Peace, and in each capital of department a civil

tribunal, a correctional tribunal, and a court of assizes. There are also two Mohammedan tribunals, at Tulcea and Constanza. Judicial work is based upon the *Code Napoléon*, introduced in 1865, and adapted in certain respects to the needs and customs of the country.

Character of Government.—The political ignorance of the masses and the varied influence exercised on the electorate by the highly centralized administration give Rumanian Governments considerable control over the elections. Between the German system, where the Emperor chooses the ministers independently of Parliament, and the English system, where the members of the executive are indicated by the electorate through the medium of Parliament independently of the Crown, the Rumanian system takes a middle path. Neither the Crown, nor the electorate, nor Parliament has exclusive power. The Government is not, generally speaking, defeated either by the electorate or by Parliament. The Crown has the final decision in changes of regime; and upon the King falls the delicate task of interpreting the significance of political or popular movements. The system—which comes nearest to that of Spain—has its advantages in a young and turbulent polity, by enabling its most stable element, the King, to ensure a continuous and harmonious policy. But it also makes the results dangerously dependent on the quality of that same element, and of the influences that may be brought to bear upon it.

The Civil Service.—With the acquirement of an autonomous administration and the introduction of the liberal Constitution, there began a race among Rumanian statesmen to adopt western institutions. The abrupt solution of the main national question gave rise to the two great political parties, before larger circles of popular opinion could have received a political education. In order to gain support for

their particular policy, the two political parties organized armies of officials by the lavish creation of sinecures for their supporters. Commerce and industry were therefore neglected by the elements rising from the lower classes; and this greatly facilitated the intrusion of foreign, especially Jewish, elements into the country. The only qualification required for entering the civil service, the lowest grade excepted, is a degree in law, which, on account of the prevailing conditions in the faculty of law, is easily obtained. Large numbers of recruits are consequently added every year to the political parties and to the civil service, many of whom create for themselves a claim to priority by embarking upon political agitation while yet on the registers of the University. Every change of government is the occasion for vast alterations in the personnel of the central and local administration; and the party funds have to be supplemented by other miscellaneous sources for the purpose of maintaining, while in opposition, the mass of out-of-work officials.

The grave economic crisis of 1899 forced the Government to abolish in 1901 almost 4,000 places, and generally to reduce the salaries of the civil servants on a progressive scale. These two measures secured an economy in expenditure of 8,800,000 and 6,838,000 *lei* respectively; but they caused much hardship in the lower grades of the service, and with the improvement of economic conditions the old system of sinecures was brought back. The number of persons in official employment amounted in 1904 to 102,560, and their remuneration to 107,617,995 *lei*. This sum does not include expenditure on the army, nor the civil list. In 1904, 18,423,231 *lei* in pensions were paid by the State.

The Political Parties.—When Greek influence, emanating from Constantinople, began to make itself

felt in the eighteenth century, a nationalist faction arose for the purpose of opposing it. This faction often relied upon the support of one of the neighbouring Powers, and was known accordingly as the Russian, the Austrian, &c., party. But no national party proper took form until after the death of Rhigas in 1798, when, as a first effect of the French Revolution, his Rumanian followers seceded into a 'National Party' which was promptly dubbed by its opponents the 'French party'. With the election of Cuza (1859) the external danger diminished, and the politicians divided upon principles of internal reform, giving rise to the Liberal and Conservative parties. The two organizations kept truce during the period preceding the accession of Prince Carol, when grave external dangers were threatening, and combined in a coalition ministry at the introduction of the Constitution of 1866. But, this done, the truce was broken; and political strife again awoke with all the more vigour for having been temporarily suppressed. The two parties vied with one another in the introduction of reforms, with the result that ere long the main lines of legislation were exhausted. Liberals and Conservatives settled down to maintain what they created, including a large following of superfluous officials. Whereas originally they had been known by the name of their political creed, they came, significantly enough, to be distinguished by the names of their leaders without conveying thereby any definite programme. Upon being asked once in the Senate to state the programme of the Liberal party, a follower of Mr. Ion Brătianu, senior, replied, 'We are a collectivity, of which Mr. Brătianu is the highest expression'; hence the name of 'Collectivists' often given to the Liberals.

It is characteristic of the conditions prevailing in Rumanian political life, that none of the groups which

sprang up from time to time with a view to furthering certain definite political ideals could persist. Such was the fate of the able group of men connected with the literary society *Junimea*, which entered politics in 1881 under the leadership of Mr. P. P. Carp, with a policy of agrarian reform and administrative decentralization. A few years ago a group of politicians, mainly of the old Conservative party, detached themselves and became the Conservative-Democratic party under the leadership of Mr. Take Ionescu. They are duly known as 'Takîști'; and the majority of them are recruited from the lower grades of officials and the lower middle-class. The actual leader of the old Conservative party is Mr. Alexander Marghiloman, though the circumstances of the war have cut across existing party divisions.

Two new parties were founded in Jassy in the eighties: a Radical group led by Georg Panu, an able rationalist writer; and a Socialist group, under the leadership of the brothers Nadejde, both secondary school teachers. They were later joined by Dobrogeanu-Gherea, a brilliant essayist, who migrated from Russia. After a short space of independent existence the Radicals, with the exception of Panu, joined the Conservative party, while the Socialists became the left wing of the Liberal party. In 1917, under the influence of the Russian Revolution, ten advanced Liberal deputies seceded and formed a Labour party under the leadership of Dr. Cantacuzino; but so far they have no definite organization behind them. More recently, General Averescu has taken in hand the creation of a large People's party, based upon the peasantry.

The Political Press.—With very few exceptions, the Rumanian political press is entirely in the service of the various party organizations. Before the war

the chief organs of the Liberal party were *L'Indépendance Roumaine* and *Viitorul*; the old Conservatives controlled *La Politique* and the *Epoca*; while Mr. Take Ionescu's policy was represented by *La Roumanie* and the *Acțiunea*. He also enjoyed the support of *Adevărul*, a widely-read, professedly independent evening paper, with Radical tendencies. The one independent daily paper was the *Universul*, a well-edited journal, enjoying the widest circulation in the Rumanian press (150,000–200,000 daily). The groups of writers connected with the more important literary periodicals (especially the *Convorbiri Literare*) also represented certain social tendencies; and much interesting matter was to be found in the weekly *Nova Revistă Română*, started by the University professor Rădulescu-Motru for the purpose of supplying a platform for independent opinion. The German community of Bucarest published two daily papers, the *Bukarester Tageblatt*, and the *Rumänischer Lloyd*. The Nationalist, anti-Semite tendencies were reflected in Mr. Iorga's *Neamul Romănesc*.

(3) PUBLIC EDUCATION

Primary Education.—This was made free and compulsory by the Act of 1864, 'where schools are available', for children between seven and eleven years of age. Art. XXIII of the Constitution of 1866 confirmed these dispositions. Nevertheless, according to the census of 1912, the percentage of illiterates among the population above seven years of age was 60·7. This is due, in the first place, to the lack of teachers, of whom there were in 1906 only 5,949, whereas 11,500 were considered necessary. Several training colleges have since been established. The second difficulty results from the insufficiency of schools, which have to be provided and equipped by the local authorities. The law

of 1886 gave the central authority executive powers, with the result that the number of rural primary schools increased from 3,307 in 1895-6 to 4,695 in 1909-10 (+ 42 per cent.), only 80 per cent. of them possessing their own buildings. The inadequacy of the increase is indicated by the number of pupils they had to accommodate, 198,534 and 504,297 (+ 154 per cent.) respectively; the average number of pupils for each teacher was 78. A remedy was sought in the creation, in 1896, of a 'School Bank'; but the results of this have not given full satisfaction, and its scope was reduced in 1901. Finally, the backward state of primary education is enhanced by irregular attendance, due mainly to social causes, which a system of fines has not been able to eradicate. In 1910 only 53.5 per cent. of the country children were able to find admittance in the schools, and of these only 66.6 per cent. attended regularly. 13,297,271 *lei* were allotted in 1910-11 for primary education. Two points of interest may be mentioned in this connexion. It is significant that the peasant rising of 1907 broke out and assumed the most violent character in districts possessing the largest percentage of illiterates, although they were the richest agricultural districts and although the rising was due to economic causes. Secondly, the report for 1910 of the Inspector for Primary Education states that

insistent demands for the creation of schools were received at the Ministry from numerous villages. The important sacrifices which those villages were prepared to make vouched for the earnestness of their request;

but the Ministry was unable to satisfy the demand through lack of teachers.

Secondary Education.—The Act of 1864 was supplanted in 1898 by a new law, which introduced in the lycées, consisting of eight classes, a treble division. The first four classes are uniform. With the fifth, the

curriculum is divided into classical, modern, and science sections. French and German are generally compulsory subjects ; the pupils of the last two sections having to take in addition a course in either English or Italian.

There are also a number of gymnasia containing only the first four classes. The schools for girls are classified as of the first and second degree, corresponding roughly to the gymnasia and lycées respectively. The number of secondary schools was so insufficient that serious overcrowding resulted. A regulation of 1885 therefore limited the number of pupils, and made admission dependent on a competitive examination. Whatever the results of the examination, foreigners, including Jews, only find admission after the Rumanian applicants have been satisfied. With the same end in view a law passed in 1901 introduced a system of fees, thus abolishing for secondary education the principle of 1864. In the school year 1913-14, 36 per cent. of the applicants (4,905) were refused admission. The maximum number of pupils, 16,707 in 1897-8, fell to 12,682 by 1908-9.

The reduction in the number of theological seminaries provided for by the Church Law of 1893 was carried further in 1901, when only three such institutions were left, one at Jassy and two at Bucarest. In 1913-14, 84 per cent. of the applicants were refused.

The State schools are supplemented by a number of private boarding-schools, comparatively expensive, and generally frequented by pupils in need of supervision for attaining the standard required at public examinations. The Jewish communities have a number of schools in the larger towns, and so also have the German. The Evangelische Knaben- und Realschule of Bucarest, supervised and subsidized by the German and Austrian educational authorities, attracted in the years before the war more pupils than any other school in the country.

Technical and Commercial Education is provided in 8 agricultural colleges, 27 arts and crafts schools, a number of commercial schools, the engineering and veterinary colleges of Bucarest, and schools of domestic economy for girls. Bucarest also possesses an Academy of Art; and Academies of Music exist in several of the larger towns. There are in addition a large number of experimental workshops and farms in which pupils are trained. In 1909-10 there were seven training schools for teachers and eight military schools. A staff school exists at Bucarest. In 1913-14, 76 per cent. of the applicants could not find admission in the various technical schools.

Higher Education is provided in the Universities of Jassy and Bucarest, on the basis of the law of 1898. They possess faculties of law, art, philosophy, science, medicine, and theology. The University of Bucarest is frequented in normal times by over 5,000 students. A High School of Economics was founded in 1914.

(4) GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Popular Opinion and National Sentiment

In order to gauge at their right value expressions of Rumanian public opinion, it should be remembered that roughly 85 per cent. of the population are peasants, that 60·7 per cent. of the inhabitants above seven years of age can neither read nor write (1912), and that foreigners (mainly Jews) to the extent of nearly 7 per cent. of the total population are denied political rights.

The peasants, as a factor in political life, are negligible, both on account of their poverty and of their cultural backwardness, as well as on account of the prevailing limited franchise and of the difficulties of organization under which a rural population labours. Centuries of exploitation have, moreover, made the

mass of the Rumanians submit passively to oligarchic government. But it should be noticed that there are signs of a change of temper. The importance of the land question has been discussed above (p. 41). Land-hunger was the chief cause of the peasant risings which occurred in 1888, 1889, 1894, 1900, and 1907. The last was particularly severe, and was marked, for the first time, by defections among the troops.

No labour organization of any importance exists in Rumania. Rumanian native industry is yet in its infancy and scattered, whereas in the larger and more concentrated industries, such as the oil wells, the skilled workers are to a great extent foreign, and only temporarily resident in the country. The persistence of national conflicts in eastern Europe has been detrimental to the growth of international forces like socialism. A small group of intellectual socialists, unable to find popular support, was forced to join the Liberal party. In recent years a few hundred workers have created an organization which has come under the influence of the Russian Marxian socialists and is affiliated to the International.

So long as the Rumanian countries were under Turkish and Greek influence, trade, the liberal professions, and the public services were exclusively in the hands of foreigners. The Greeks disappeared from the public services with the constitution of the Rumanian state. Those elements of the native population which might have formed a commercial middle class were absorbed by the over-elaborate State administrative services; so that trade and certain liberal professions still remained to foreigners—Armenians, Jews, Greeks, Bulgars, Italians, Austrians, Swiss, &c.—who do not enjoy political rights. It may be said, therefore, that a middle class exists socially but not politically, as the interests of the large army of officials and

of the numerous lawyers are bound up with those of the governing oligarchy.

The small class of great Rumanian *boyars*, in so far as it still exists, has lost most of its economic and political importance. The real governing class may be said to consist of (a) intellectuals, forming the general staff of the parties, who have received a liberal education abroad, and tend to imitate foreign, rather than develop native characteristics; (b) the sons of those who have achieved wealth and station in the period of transition from dependence to independence, people with unequal education, devoting themselves to politics and agriculture, and exercising special influence in the political organizations of the provinces; (c) individuals belonging to the lower classes, without education, who by hard work, good fortune, or other means have acquired wealth during the more recent economic advance; most of them are farmers, some are manufacturers and traders.

The fact that the achievement of independent political power coincided with a brilliant economic development, in neither of which was the lower class able, or the foreign middle class allowed, to share, has placed in the hands of the ruling class a monopoly both of wealth and of political power. This class also contains a free admixture of foreign, especially Greek, blood. For it is interesting to note that, throughout modern history, the mass of the population of the Rumanian principalities has lived in almost complete cultural separation from its aristocracy, which was subjected in turn to Slav, Greek, and French cultural influence. This was one of the causes of the backwardness of the masses, who were unable to participate in a renaissance foreign in language and in spirit. More recently, the town population has been involved in the 'progressive' movement; but the pre-

dominant influence which French civilization still exercises has kept the peasant outside it. In Transylvania, where the common language has been the cultural language, the peasant has been able to rise much above the level of his brethren in Rumania.

Within the last few decades, a new, pure Rumanian current has penetrated Rumanian literary life, and it is interesting to note that (like all previous movements which have made a lasting contribution to the nation's culture) it was progressing simultaneously and unitedly among the Rumanians on both sides of the Carpathians. Equally striking and suggestive is the fact that, whereas the centre of gravity of social life moved with the achievement of independence to the towns, where the political leaders worked hard to improvise a national middle class, and totally ignored the peasant, the new literary and artistic movement, except in so far as it is satiric, has gone back to the land, and centred all its productions round the personality and the life of the peasant.

The Rumanians of Macedonia

It is impossible to supply accurate figures concerning the Rumanian population of Macedonia. Estimates of writers and travellers vary between 150,000 and 3,000,000; about 300,000 is the more generally accepted estimate. They are usually known as 'Koutso-Vlachs'; among themselves, the name of 'Aromuni' is in use.¹

Simultaneously with the first signs of Bulgarian renaissance there appeared also indications of a national movement among the Koutso-Vlachs, which became more marked with the union of the Rumanian Principalities in 1859. There was no possibility of union with the new Rumanian state; but as, on the other hand, domination of Macedonia by one of the other

¹ Cf. above, pp. 11, 43.

Balkan nations involved a danger of absorption, the Koutso-Vlachs generally favoured the *status quo*.

Rumanian propaganda in Macedonia began about 1865, when a first school was established at Tarnova. In 1870 a sum of 14,000 *lei* appeared in the Rumanian budget as a subvention to the Koutso-Vlachs. In the following years these contributions were increased. The Koutso-Vlach movement became very marked after the events of 1877-8. In 1879 'The Macedo-Rumanian Society' was founded, with the object of collecting funds for their schools and publishing books for their use.

From the beginning, the Koutso-Vlach nationalists came into conflict with the Patriarchate, which was led by the Bulgarian defection of 1870 to fear a further reduction of the field of its authority. As recognition of national rights in Turkey depended upon the possession of an independent religious organization, to which were usually also granted certain lay privileges, the Rumanian Government made repeated efforts to obtain the nomination of a bishop for the Koutso-Vlachs in Macedonia. On November 6, 1896, the Koutso-Vlachs provisionally elected Mgr. Antim to be their metropolitan. His recognition was violently opposed by the Patriarch at Constantinople. The Rumanian Government at once approached the Porte through its diplomatic channels, and at the same time issued a circular note to the foreign chancelleries, which contained the principle of Rumanian interest in the Balkans:

The affairs of Macedonia . . . are the object of our constant interest, as they concern the future of a numerous population of Rumanian race and the political balance of the Peninsula.

The message from the throne at the opening of Parliament, February 24, 1905, explicitly stated the Rumanian demands. After difficult negotiations, the

Sultan issued, on May 22, 1905, an *iradé* recognizing the Rumanian nationality of the Koutso-Vlachs, and granting them the right to elect 'muktars' (mayors). Within a short space of time, sixty Rumanian communities were established in Macedonia.

The Patriarchate and Greek organizations embarked upon a campaign of persecution against the Koutso-Vlach population, which drew energetic protest from the Rumanian Government. Various incidents gave the conflict an acute character; and on September 16, 1905, diplomatic relations between Athens and Bucarest were broken, to be permanently resumed only in 1910.

Meanwhile the Bulgarian propaganda was making great strides in Macedonia, and acquired a violent revolutionary character with the formation in 1894 of the so-called 'Organization of the Exterior'. The movement was accentuated in 1899, and led for a time to very strained relations with Bulgaria in 1900. The Balkan troubles of 1912-13 again brought the question to the fore. It was first discussed privately between Rumanian and Bulgarian statesmen, and formally at the London Conference (1912-13), in the presence of the Rumanian minister. No difficulties were encountered in coming to an agreement, which was embodied in a Protocol signed in London by Dr. Danev and the Rumanian Minister, Mr. Mişu, on January 29, 1913. The arrangement was confirmed in Article 4 of the Protocol of the St. Petersburg Conference (May 9, 1913), and was subsequently the occasion of an exchange of letters between Mr. Maiorescu and Mr. Tontcheff, the first Bulgarian delegate to the Conference of Bucarest (August 4, 1913). Therein Bulgaria undertook to

grant autonomy to the Koutso-Vlach schools and churches existent in the future Bulgarian possessions, and to allow the creation of an episcopate for them; with liberty for the Rumanian Government to subsidize, under the supervision of

the Bulgarian Government, the said cultural institutions, existent or to be established.

Correspondence couched in identical terms passed on August 5, 1913, between Mr. Maiorescu on the one hand, and Mr. Venizelos, the chief Greek delegate, and Mr. Pasich, the chief Serbian delegate, on the other.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) INTERNAL

(a) *Roads*

IN 1913 the length of the metalled roads in Rumania amounted to 44,573 kilometres, of which 4,162 kilometres were national roads, 4,936 kilometres departmental roads, and the remainder communal and village roads. Of the latter class there were also about 11,000 kilometres of unmetalled tracks. The roads are classified according to the authority responsible for their upkeep. The communal and village roads are of little use for the transport of merchandise, and at certain times in the year are practically impassable.

(b) *Rivers*

The utility of the rivers of Rumania as commercial waterways is diminished by the large quantities of sand and mud which are washed down in spring, when the melting of snow in the mountains swells them into torrents, by the difficulties of locking, owing to the large volume of water which has to pass down in spring, and by the dryness of summer and autumn, when often there is not sufficient water to make navigation by barges a possibility.

The navigable rivers of Rumania are the Danube, the Pruth, and the Sereth.

The *Danube* enters Rumania just above the Iron Gates and forms the southern boundary of Rumania for most of the 590 miles from that point to the sea.

The river is navigable from Sulina to Ratisbon (Regensburg) in Bavaria. The Sulina mouth is the only one used for navigation, the St. George and Kilia mouths being constantly choked with sand and mud washed down by the river. The Sulina mouth is kept navigable by continuous dredging operations carried on by the European Commission of the Danube, which controls the river from the mouth to Brăila, a distance of about 100 miles. Above that point the ports are under the control of the riparian Powers. There is from 22 to 24 ft. of water in the river from the mouth to Brăila, so that ocean-going vessels up to 6,000 tons can reach the ports of Galatz and Brăila with full cargoes. Above Brăila the river is capable of taking vessels up to 10-foot draught as far as Turnu-Severin. The chief up-river ports of the Danube are Cernavoda, Silistra, Oltenița, Giurgiu, Zimnicea, Turnu-Magurele, Corabia, Calafat, Turnu-Severin.

The navigation of the Danube in winter and spring is rendered impossible at certain periods by the prevalence of ice and by the floods which follow upon the melting of the ice. Navigation is usually closed by ice from about the beginning of January until the latter part of February : occasionally ice forms before the end of December, and in 1909, when the winter was very severe, navigation could not be resumed until the middle of March. The river freezes very quickly and has been known to freeze across at Brăila, where the width is 330 yds., in six hours ; consequently the risk to navigation at such times is very great. There are winter harbours and emergency winter harbours on the river, where ships may take refuge during the time when navigation is blocked. Ships may have to stay in these for a very long time between winter and spring, because when the thaw comes the ice is forced down by floods, and packs to considerable heights, and then there is great danger

of ships being caught by a sudden rush of ice before reaching the next emergency harbour, which is often a long distance away. As these emergency winter harbours are rarely connected with railways, the trans-shipment of goods is impossible.

Navigation is also liable to be hindered in summer if the water becomes very low. In the summer of 1911, for instance, owing to the low level of water in the river, large stocks of grain in up-river districts could only be forwarded in small quantities, and thus great delays occurred before the grain reached Brăila.

The European Commission of the Danube was constituted for political reasons after the Crimean War by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, and now consists of eight members, one of whom is nominated by each of the following Powers: Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Turkey, Germany, Italy, and Rumania. Its head-quarters are at Galatz. The Commission is responsible for the control of traffic as far as Brăila, for dredging the river up to that point, for buoying the river below Galatz, and for the upkeep of lighthouses in the river below Galatz and along the coast to the mouth of the St. George's Channel. It possesses a fleet of 16 steamboats for purposes of administration, technical service, and inspection of navigation, and about 50 smaller craft of different kinds, and has workshops at Sulina. Pilotage is necessary and compulsory both over the bar and in the river. The expenses of the Commission are covered by the dues charged on vessels using the portion of the river which it controls. (For the burden of these dues see p. 49.) It is stated that its income in 1913 was £125,834, leaving a surplus over expenditure of £36,892.

The *Pruth*, which forms the eastern boundary between Rumania and Bessarabia, is about 500 miles in length, of which about 400 miles are in Rumania, and is navigable as a general rule for ships and

lighters of about 600 tons as far as a point opposite to Jassy, a distance of about 150 miles. In dry summers navigation is often much impeded owing to lack of water. There is a considerable grain traffic from Russian and Rumanian villages on the river to Galatz, where cargoes are trans-shipped to ocean-going steamers. Before the war the river was controlled by a Commission composed of Rumanians, Austrians, and Russians, which owned a steamboat, 7 floating elevators, a dredge, and a few barges. Until recent years the possibilities of the river as regards navigation were neglected, but about the year 1909 a Russian company put on a fleet of special boats able to navigate the river at low water; and attempts were being made before the war to develop the Russian town of Reni as an export town.

The *Sereth* rises in the Bukovina, flows south, traversing Moldavia, and joins the Danube at Galatz. Its length in Rumania is about 210 miles. The river is used for the purpose of floating timber, cut from the forests of Moldavia, down-stream for shipment into ocean-going vessels at Galatz. According to the author of *La Roumanie Économique*, it was used for the transport of grain about 1876, but this traffic no longer exists. The *Bistrița*, a tributary of the *Sereth*, is also used to a considerable extent for rafting timber.

(c) *Railways*

2,299 miles of railway are owned by the State, while 83 miles are privately owned. The gauge is 1.436 metres—the usual gauge throughout Central Europe—and, except between Bucarest and Ploëști and between Cernavoda and Constanza, where the track is double, the tracks are single throughout. According to official returns the actual capital expenditure on the State railways to 1911 was 967,204,000 lei (420,706 lei per mile). These figures cannot, however, be taken as a safe guide in calculating the revenue on the money

invested, as expenditure on the upkeep of lines is added, as incurred, to capital account and nothing is apparently set aside for renewals and depreciation.

The existing railways need not be described.

Lines projected or in course of construction are as follows :

1. A line traversing the Dobruja from Dobrich (whence there is railway communication with Balchik on the Black Sea and the Bulgarian port of Varna) to Tulcea on the St. George mouth of the Danube. This line has now been completed to Babadag, about 25 miles south of Tulcea.

2. A line from Craiova to Gruia on the Danube, where it is intended to bridge the Danube and obtain direct communication with Nish, thereby making a connexion between Rumania and the Salonika outlet to the Aegean Sea.

3. A line from Dorohoi to the frontier, giving additional railway communication with Czernowitz.

4. A line from Bucarest to Faurei in the department of Buzău, tapping an important part of the plain of Wallachia.

5. A line from Bârlad eastward, crossing the Pruth at Falciu to join the new line from Leipzigskaya to Akkerman and Odessa.

The locomotives used on the Rumanian railways are designed to burn a mixture of coal (brown lignite) or wood with oil fuel. The use of oil fuel on the railways has increased in 20 years from 500 to 152,000 tons per annum ; and the stations are now equipped with oil storage reservoirs. The consumption of lignite in 1909 was 126,621 tons and of imported coal 15,855 tons. The value of the rolling stock increased from 28,000,000 lei in 1887 to 114,714,000 lei in 1911. It is stated that in 1915 the rolling stock consisted of 921 engines, 1,498 carriages, and 23,930 wagons. In spite of the increase of the rolling stock there have been continual complaints

of its insufficiency to meet growing requirements. In 1912 a number of productive wells were compelled to shut down owing to lack of transport for the oil.

The number of trains run on the State Railways for the year 1910-11 was 181,786, and the total number of passengers carried was 10,233,000, of which 3·7 per cent. were first-class, 14·4 per cent. second-class, and 81·9 per cent. third-class passengers. The mean revenue per passenger was 3·26 lei.

The following figures show the increase in revenue from the State Railways in recent years :

| Year. | <i>Cereals and flour.</i> | | <i>General merchandise.</i> | |
|---------|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| | <i>Metric tons.</i> | <i>Revenue, lei.</i> | <i>Metric tons.</i> | <i>Revenue, lei.</i> |
| 1901-2 | 2,309,143 | 14,365,999 | 2,280,647 | 19,494,115 |
| 1902-3 | 2,339,351 | 14,666,311 | 2,290,030 | 20,267,776 |
| 1903-4 | 2,276,349 | 14,578,978 | 2,681,012 | 22,563,404 |
| 1904-5 | 1,429,729 | 8,990,015 | 2,762,967 | 22,040,618 |
| 1905-6 | 2,437,587 | 16,084,354 | 3,254,226 | 27,290,491 |
| 1906-7 | 2,495,912 | 16,356,781 | 3,525,145 | 29,373,648 |
| 1907-8 | 2,271,450 | 14,745,238 | 4,426,964 | 34,802,536 |
| 1908-9 | 1,692,510 | 10,594,362 | 4,624,903 | 32,421,750 |
| 1909-10 | 1,983,024 | 12,781,086 | 4,899,087 | 35,441,193 |
| 1910-11 | 2,983,990 | 18,515,455 | 5,191,083 | 38,091,262 |

The total gross revenue from all sources per kilometre of line for the year 1910-11 was 28,323 lei, and the expenses per kilometre of line, 17,579 lei.

(d) Ports on the Danube

CERNAVODA.—On the right bank of the Danube, 186 miles above Sulina. The population is 5,750. The town stands just below the King Carol Bridge which carries the railway from Bucarest to Constanza. There is a short line from the town to a junction on the main line called Seligni. The town possesses a harbour just below the railway bridge on the right bank and an anchorage opposite near the left bank.

Industries.—A cement factory, an oil refinery, joinery works, and factories for making screws; also stone

works and bakeries. The town possesses a post office, telegraph, and telephone. For the ten years 1902–11 its imports averaged $\cdot 4$ per cent. and its exports $\cdot 6$ per cent. of the import and export trade of Rumania.

SILISTRA.—On the right bank of the Danube, 234 miles above Sulina. The population of 12,000 consists mainly of Bulgarians and Turks. The town, which is a steamer station, was ceded to Rumania by Bulgaria in 1913. The nearest railway is at Calarasi on the other side of the Danube, 12 kilometres away.

Industries.—Cereals, wood, wine, tobacco, steam mills, tanneries, and cloth factories. It is the centre of a large agricultural district, and there is much forest and some pasture. The town possesses a bank, a post office, telegraph, and telephone.

GIURGIU.—On the left bank of the Danube, 306 miles above Sulina. The population is 20,629. There is a steamer station above the town, which is only available for summer use.

Industries.—Export of timber, grain, petroleum, and salt; import of coal, iron, and textiles; large steam saw-mills. There is a ferry to Ruschuk, a Bulgarian town on the right bank of the Danube, 5 kilometres south-west of Giurgiu, from whence there is railway communication with the interior of Bulgaria and the important Bulgarian seaport of Varna on the Black Sea. Giurgiu is connected by railway with Bucarest (67 kilometres), and with Blejești, to the north-west. The water-supply is stated to be not above suspicion. There is a post office, telegraph, and telephone. For the ten years 1902–11 the imports of Giurgiu averaged $2\cdot 4$ per cent. and the exports $5\cdot 2$ per cent. of the import and export trade of Rumania.

TURNU-MAGURELE.—On the left bank, 372 miles above Sulina. The population is 10,500. The town is the capital of the department of Teleorman.

Industries.—Large factories and workshops, including an agricultural implement factory, and linen, aerated water, furniture and brick factories. There is also a considerable export of corn to Brăila. The town is lighted by electricity and possesses a boulevard and 52 streets. There is a railway to Costești (118 kilometres) and a ferry to the Bulgarian fortress of Nikopol. For the ten years 1902–11, the imports of Turnu-Magurele averaged .5 per cent. and the exports 4.8 per cent. of the import and export trade of Rumania. The town has a post office, telegraph, and telephone.

CORABIA (NEW CORABIA).—On the left bank, 395 miles above Sulina. The population is 9,124. The town possesses a harbour and two lumber sheds.

Industries.—A brick factory, quarries, and three power mills. There is a post office, telegraph, and telephone, and a railway north to Piatra (75 kilometres) on the main line from Craiova to Bucarest. For the ten years 1902–11 the imports of Corabia averaged .3 per cent. and the exports 4.9 per cent. of the import and export trade of Rumania.

CALAFAT.—On the left bank, 495 miles above Sulina. Population 7,000. A steamer station.

Industries.—Fishing and corn trade, three mills, and two brick-kilns. There is a railway to Craiova (106 kilometres), and also a steam ferry to Vidin, in Bulgaria, which is connected by railway with the interior of Bulgaria. The town has a post office, telegraph, and telephone. For the ten years 1902–11 its imports averaged .6 per cent. and its exports 5.7 per cent. of the import and export trade of Rumania.

GRUIA.—On the left bank, 529 miles above Sulina. Population 1,516. There is a landing pier and ferry.

Industries.—Brick-yards, a glass factory, and a water-mill. This town is proposed as the Rumanian terminus of the railway from Craiova which is to cross the

Danube into Serbia at this point, thereby giving a railway outlet through Serbia to the Aegean Sea. There is a post office, telegraph, and telephone.

TURNU-SEVERIN.—On the left bank, 580 miles above Sulina. Population 23,643. A steamer station.

Industries.—Trade in live stock, preserved meat, petroleum, cereals, leather, and chalk. There are two mills and a machine shop, and large Government shipyards for building steamers, lighters, and tugs. Turnu-Severin, a modern commercial town situated on the main line from Orsova to Craiova and Bucarest, is the capital of the department of Mehedinți, and the seat of the Rumanian Customs House. It possesses a good and plentiful water-supply, electric light, a post office, and a telegraph and telephone system. There are cattle-wharves to the west of the town. For the ten years 1902–11 the imports averaged 3·5 per cent. and the exports 1·5 per cent. of the import and export trade of Rumania.

(c) *Danube Steamship Service*

The following are the chief companies operating on the Danube :

The *Rumanian River Service*, which owns 11 passenger boats, 11 tugs, 87 barges of from 100 to 1,500 tons capacity, 14 tanks for petroleum, and 11 pontoons.

The *Russian Danube Steam Navigation Company*, which owns 12 steamers* of a maximum draught of 15 feet.

The *Austrian Danube Steam Navigation Company*, which owns 80 paddle tugs, 43 passenger boats, 11 screw steamers, and 834 iron barges of an average capacity of 520 tons.

The *Hungarian Company for River and Sea Navigation*, which owns 14 paddle steamers for passenger

traffic, 48 tugs, and 298 iron barges of between 175 and 1,000 tons capacity.

There are also 80 tugs, 579 iron barges ranging from 700 to 1,600 tons capacity, and 37 floating elevators privately owned.

The river traffic on the Danube consists of passenger traffic between Serbian or Austrian and Rumanian or Bulgarian ports, and freight traffic (*a*) between Rumanian ports on the Danube and Brăila, Galatz, and Sulina, where cargoes are trans-shipped to ocean-going vessels; (*b*) between Austrian and Serbian ports and the ports of Brăila, Galatz, and Sulina, with cargoes for trans-shipment; and (*c*) from Russia, Rumania, and Bulgaria to Austria and Serbia.

The freight and passenger traffic on the Danube is very largely in the hands of the Austrian Danube Steam Navigation Company, but the Rumanian River Service has in recent years made great progress in competition with other lines trading on the Danube. It is assisted by a reduction in railway rates on goods landed by it for transport by the Rumanian railways, and by a reduction of 50 per cent. in railway rates on German lines on goods carried by it to Serbian, Bulgarian, and Rumanian ports. The boats of the Rumanian Service are mostly built at the Government yard at Turnu-Severin, though some of the steamers are sent farther up the river to have their engines put in.

The river traffic on the Danube shows a steady annual increase, the number of ships which entered Rumanian river ports for the years 1909, 1910, and 1911 being respectively 28,969, 33,976, and 35,054.

(f) Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones

In 1913-14 there were in Rumania 3,087 post offices, which dealt with a total of 181,426,000 letters, post-cards, newspapers, &c. There were also 3,143 telegraph

offices, which dealt with 4,863,000 messages. The length of the lines at that date was 25,308 kilometres. The telephone service is divided into urban and inter-urban systems. In 1913 there were 1,615 kilometres of line in use on the urban systems, and 38,894 kilometres of line on the inter-urban systems. The number of subscribers in that year was approximately 16,000, and about 22,000,000 messages were sent.

(2) EXTERNAL

(a) *Maritime Ports*¹

BRĂILA.—On the left bank of the Danube in the district of the same name, 107 miles above Sulina. The population is 62,545, of which about 11,000 are Jews. The British colony numbers about 40.

The river is very deep here; at the entrance of the basin and along the quay the depth varies from 15 to 42 feet at different periods of the year. The length of quay along the river is 2,000 ft., and an additional quay, 1,000 ft. in length, is under construction. There are also large docks to the north of the town. The quays are equipped with fixed and floating grain-elevators and fixed and movable cranes. Besides the Customs warehouse, there are other warehouses of a total capacity of at least 25,000 tons.

The town possesses electric light, the principal streets are paved, and there are electric tramways, one of which goes to Lake Sarat, 8 kilometres south-west of the town, where there are medicinal iodine and sulphur springs. There is railway communication with Galatz to the north (32 kilometres), and with Buzău, on the line to Bucarest, to the south-west (133 kilometres).

Industries.—Paper-mills, rope, candle, soap, starch,

¹ For the Danube River Ports see above, p. 81.

nail and wire factories, saw-mills, a tannery, and flour-mills.

Brăila is the centre of the grain export trade of the Danube, practically all shipments made at Galatz and Sulina being for the account of firms whose headquarters are at Brăila. In addition there is a large import of general merchandise and coal. Incoming cargoes are discharged at the dock, but the bulk of cargoes for export are loaded in the river from barges. The following table shows the number of ships and total tonnage which entered the port in the years 1906-11 :

| | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| No. of ships | 652 | 569 | 498 | 575 | 713 | 703 |
| Tonnage | 935,696 | 839,426 | 745,099 | 876,250 | 1,089,449 | 1,100,182 |

For the ten years 1902-11 the imports of Brăila averaged 19·6 per cent. and the exports 23·1 per cent. of the total import and export trade of Rumania.

GALATZ (GALAȚI).—On the left bank of the Danube, 93 miles from Sulina, in the department of Covurlui. The population is 71,641, of which 12,000 are Jews. The British colony numbers about 50.

The area of the docks is 20 acres, the length of the quays is 1,640 ft., and the depth of water at the entrance varies between 15 ft. and 42 ft. There is a wet dock 1,640 ft. in length, 395 ft. in width and 16½ ft. in depth ; a floating dock 262 ft. by 55 ft.; and a Government dock 167 ft. in length. The quays can accommodate vessels drawing 24 ft. Larger vessels must anchor in deeper water and be loaded by means of gangways and shoots. The quays are equipped with a movable and a fixed crane and two elevators, but they are narrow, with no very great accommodation for stores. The town has an abundant supply of pure water laid on by hydrants, electric light and gas, and electric trams.

There is railway communication north to Bârlad and

Jassy, and south, *via* Brăila, to Buzău and Bucarest (262 kilometres), and to Fetești, whence there is railway communication with Bucarest and Constanza.

Industries.—Chemical manufactures, saw-mills, flour-mills, rope-works, metal-works, wire, soap, nail and candle factories. There are also a petroleum refinery and extensive fisheries. The trade of the port is the export of timber and cereals and the import of general merchandise. It is, moreover, the most convenient outlet for wood from Transylvania, Galicia, and Bukovina, but it suffers in competition with the Russian port of Odessa, to which the freights on the Russian railways are much lower. For the ten years 1902–11 the imports of Galatz averaged 19·1 per cent. and the exports 12·7 per cent. of the total import and export trade of Rumania.

Galatz is the head-quarters of the International Commission of the Danube.

CONSTANZA (CONSTANȚA).—In the Dobruja, on the Black Sea. The population is 16,000. The British colony numbers about 35.

The depth of water at the harbour bar is from 18 to 20 ft., and alongside the quays 20 ft. Constant dredging operations are necessary to prevent the harbour being silted up with mud discharged into the Black Sea by the Danube. There are coal wharfs, timber wharfs, a petroleum basin, 36 State-owned petrol storage tanks with a capacity of 5,000 cubic metres, and 45 storage tanks, privately owned, of a total capacity of 132,000 tons. The value of the land in the neighbourhood of the town has increased enormously in recent years. There is one large hotel and several small ones, a casino, gas and electric light supply, and a water-supply from the Danube.

Constanza is the only ice-free port of Rumania, and has been largely built with Government money.

Being at the terminus of the railways from Bucarest and Buzău, which unite to cross the Danube at Cernavoda, it does a very large trade in the export of cereals and petroleum.

For the ten years 1902–11 the imports of Constanza averaged 15·3 per cent. and the exports 17·5 per cent. of the total import and export trade of Rumania.

SULINA.—At the mouth of the central channel of the Danube. The population, which is a very mixed one, is 7,347. The British colony numbers about 20.

The town possesses a lifeboat station, two lighthouses, several big factories and workshops, a large coal wharf, and accommodation for repairing ships, but there is no railway. The length of quays is about 2 miles. There are elevators for loading and unloading cereals and coal. The depth of water at the bar is 24 ft., and sea-going vessels can come alongside the quays on both sides of the river. Cargoes are usually discharged on to the quay-side and loaded from lighters in the river. There is a road 20 ft. broad on the southern bank leading to Tulcea. The following table shows the number of ships loaded at the port in the years 1906–10 :

| | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| No. of ships | 417 | 435 | 273 | 157 | 365 |
| Tonnage | 909,898 | 956,131 | 526,011 | 248,423 | 720,717 |

For the ten years 1902–11 the imports of Sulina averaged 2·5 per cent. and the exports ·14 per cent. of the total import and export trade of Rumania. This does not, however, represent accurately the amount of trade done by the port, as the bulk of the exports and imports are consigned from or to up-river ports and are only trans-shipped at Sulina, and therefore do not appear in the trade returns.

BALCHIK (Rumanian BALCIC).—This small port on the south-east coast of the Dobruja was ceded to Rumania by the Treaty of Bucarest in 1913. It is

stated to be merely an open roadstead, with unsafe anchorage and only small facilities for dealing with cargo. It has since the war been connected by rail with the town of Dobrich, and if developed would serve an important area. According to Bulgarian official figures the trade of the port for 1910 and 1911 was as follows :

| | | <i>Entered.</i> | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|--------------------|--|
| | <i>Sailing vessels.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> | <i>Steamers.</i> | <i>Tonnage.</i> | <i>Cargo in tons.</i> | <i>Passengers.</i> | |
| 1910 | 299 | 7,214 | 220 | 93,526 | 8,644 | 1,403 | |
| 1911 | 195 | 5,327 | 249 | 137,877 | 7,157 | 2,209 | |
| | | <i>Cleared.</i> | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| 1910 | 296 | 7,190 | 219 | 91,440 | 41,505 | 1,561 | |
| 1911 | 195 | 5,327 | 249 | 137,250 | 70,608 | 2,563 | |

(b) *Shipping Lines*¹

In normal times the principal steamship lines trading with Rumania were :

The *Rumanian State Maritime Service* (see below).

The *Johnston Line* from Liverpool and Antwerp, which maintained a regular service in general merchandise.

The *Austrian Lloyd Steam Navigation Company*, which maintained a fortnightly service between Trieste and Odessa.

The *Hungarian Levant Line*, which maintained a fortnightly service between Constantinople and the Danube, calling at Constanza.

The *German Levant Line* from Hamburg and Antwerp, with a service once a month.

The *Russian Steam Navigation Company*, which maintained a service between Odessa and Alexandria, calling at Rumanian ports once a month.

¹ For the Danube River Services see above, p. 84.

The *Società Nazionale di Servizi Marittimi*, which ran weekly between Rumanian and Italian ports, except in winter.

Other lines running irregularly to Rumanian ports were the *Bell Line*, the *Westcott & Laurance Line*, and the *Fraissinet Line*.

In 1913 the *America-Levant Line* had direct sailings every two or three weeks from New York to Brăila and Constanza.

The *Rumanian State Maritime Service* consisted before the war of five mail steamers, fitted with wireless, with an average speed of 18 knots and a gross tonnage of from 1,600 to 3,400, and seven cargo boats, which plied between the Danube ports of Rumania and Antwerp and Rotterdam. The mail service (which is called the *Oriental Line*) maintained a bi-weekly service between Constanza and Alexandria, calling at Constantinople, Smyrna, and Piraeus. The line was run in connexion with the Orient Express from Ostend *via* Berlin and Bucharest to Constanza, which in recent years has carried a considerable number of passengers. Of the passenger traffic through the port of Constanza shown in the following table, the share of the Rumanian Maritime Service was considerably over 90 per cent. :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Passengers landed.</i> | <i>Passengers embarked.</i> |
|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1910 . . | 20,541 | 17,516 |
| 1911 . . | 23,756 | 23,217 |
| 1912 . . | 22,996 | 25,435 |
| 1913 . . | 26,591 | 29,762 |

The cargo service (which is called the *Occidental Line*) did a fair trade in cereals to Belgium and Holland.

Merchandise imported into Rumania by the Rumanian cargo-boat service profits by a reduction of 25 per cent. on the normal railway freight rates and 15 per cent. on the tariffs for special goods: a similar reduction also applies to the trans-shipment charges.

In spite of this, the Rumanian Maritime Service has been run at a loss for many years, only six of the last twenty years showing a favourable balance; and a proposal was on foot in 1911 to sell the lines to a company to be organized under Rumanian law and to receive a subsidy from the Government for maintaining the lines under the Rumanian flag. It was proposed that this company should be formed with German capital and should be under German control. The steamship lines would in that event be run in connexion with the German railway systems in course of construction in Asia Minor, thus giving Germany an additional link with Asia Minor and the Middle East. The proposal had not matured before the outbreak of the European War.

(c) *Telegraphic Communication*

The only cable connexion between Rumania and the outside world is the line from Constanza to Constantinople. There is a wireless station at Constanza.

(B) INDUSTRY¹

(1) LABOUR

(a) *Labour Conditions*

The Rumanian peasant is underfed and, while fairly industrious, works in a somewhat listless manner; though capable of vigorous bursts of energy, he is as a rule not equal to a continuous steady effort. He is unambitious and unthrifty, and generally content to live in a state of squalor. Labour is easily obtained, and as a rule is cheap. In agricultural districts the wages vary between 80 bani ($7\frac{1}{2}d.$) and 1 leu 20 bani ($11\frac{1}{2}d.$) a day for male labour and 70 bani and 1 leu a day for female labour. In industrial districts good

¹ For the advantages provided by the industrial legislation of 1887 and 1906, see below under 'Customs and Tariffs', p. 128.

wages are paid, e.g. Rumanians working in the oil-fields were, before the war, earning 10 lei per day as drillers, 3 lei 40 bani per day as labourers underground, and 2 lei 50 bani per day as surface labourers ; female labour was also used at the rate of about 2 lei per day.

(b) *Emigration*

A considerable amount of emigration to the United States takes place. From 1900 to 1911 the following numbers of Rumanians were admitted to the United States : 1900, 398 ; 1901, 761 ; 1902, 2,033 ; 1903, 4,740 ; 1904, 4,364 ; 1905, 7,818 ; 1906, 11,425 ; 1907, 19,200 ; 1908, 9,629 ; 1909, 8,041 ; 1910, 14,199 ; 1911, 5,311. The following are more detailed figures for the period 1912–15, showing (a) the numbers of Rumanians who entered the United States, (b) the numbers of Rumanians who departed from the United States :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Admitted to U.S.A.</i> | | | <i>Left U.S.A.</i> | | |
|--------------|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------|
| | <i>Total.</i> | <i>Male.</i> | <i>Female.</i> | <i>Total.</i> | <i>Male.</i> | <i>Female.</i> |
| 1912 | 8,329 | 6,752 | 1,577 | 5,824 | 5,363 | 461 |
| 1913 | 13,451 | 10,373 | 3,078 | 3,156 | 2,859 | 345 |
| 1914 | 24,070 | 19,748 | 4,322 | 3,837 | 3,359 | 478 |
| 1915 | 1,200 | 852 | 348 | 899 | 789 | 113 |

Excluding Rumanians permanently settled in territories immediately adjoining Rumania, small numbers of Rumanians have migrated to the south of Bulgaria and the north of Macedonia. These settlements are of comparatively recent origin, not older than the eighteenth century. How far such movements may have continued is not known, but they had probably greatly diminished before 1914 and have now almost certainly ceased. Speaking generally there seems to be little inducement or tendency for Rumania to exhibit any considerable or regular flow of emigration, especially as the country is not populated up to its economic possibilities.

(c) Immigration

Figures regarding present immigration cannot be given, but Rumania has always attracted foreign settlers. The Rumanian Jews nearly all came originally from Austria and the Polish provinces of Russia. This immigration first became considerable in the nineteenth century, when the number of Jews in Moldavia doubled between 1831 and 1838. The migration of Jews from Moldavia into Wallachia began after 1860. At that date there were in Wallachia 9,234 Jews, forty years later there were 65,000. Together with Greeks and Armenians the Jews form about two-thirds of the commercial and industrial classes of Rumania. Apart from those Bulgarians who have permanently settled in Rumania, there was before the war a large number of immigrant Bulgarians to all parts of Rumania, especially to the neighbourhood of the towns and large villages of the plains. Turks, Tatars, Russians, Greeks, and Armenians have also established colonies. The Greeks, on making a competency, frequently emigrate; the Armenians are more stable residents. Germans are found in three distinct groups: (1) those who have immigrated from the old Saxon settlements in Transylvania; (2) German colonists of the Dobruja; (3) Germans who have come more recently.

(2) AGRICULTURE

The total area of arable land in Rumania in 1909 was (according to the *Anuarul Statistic al Romaniei*) 7,998,890 hectares, or just over 60 per cent. of the whole area of the country. Of this area 7,826,796 hectares were arable or pasture land, the remainder being utilized for the cultivation of vines, plums, &c. In 1913 the Treaty of Bucarest added about 772,000 hectares to the country, the greater part of which is arable land.

Agriculture forms the industry of about 80 per cent. of the population in Rumania. Before the country received its Constitution in 1866, the land was almost entirely in the hands of large landed proprietors, and the position of the Rumanian peasants was that of serfs. Since 1868 the Rumanian Government has nominally aimed at encouraging the purchase of land by the peasants; and, in order to finance the purchases, agricultural credit institutions have been formed by the State. In spite of this, statistical returns show that in 1911 only 3,153,645 hectares out of a total of 7,826,796 hectares devoted to agriculture were held in properties not exceeding 10 hectares in extent, and that 3,810,351 hectares were held in properties of upwards of 100 hectares. In the departments of Brăila, Ialomița, and Teleorman the average holding amongst the large proprietors was 2,120, 1,805, and 1,214 hectares respectively. The statistics for 1914 show that the total area held by small proprietors had only increased by 163,506 hectares, whilst the area devoted to agriculture had during the same period increased by 138,934 hectares.

The agrarian question has always been one of great importance in Rumania, and successive Governments have been elected on promises of a popular agrarian policy, but practically nothing has as yet been accomplished. The electors to the Senate consist of the most prosperous part of the population, whose interest it is not to distribute but to retain the lands which they possess.¹ So recently as July 14, 1917, the Senate, by 70 votes out of a house of 84 members, rejected

¹ The frequency of peasant risings (cf. above, pp. 42, 70) shows how ineffectual has been the agrarian legislation of the latter part of last century, which aimed at the restoration of alienated land to landless peasants and the fixing of maximum rents and of a minimum wage for labourers.

a bill which had been adopted by the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of 120 votes to 14, providing for agrarian reform and universal suffrage.

Some years ago the State started agricultural colleges in different parts of the country for instruction in the technical side of all branches of agriculture and fruit-farming. There are to-day 17 such schools in existence. In addition to this, the Crown Domains, which consist of 12 estates, exercise great influence as model establishments. The systematic encouragement of a proper system of husbandry, together with instruction in branches of industry to ensure a profitable treatment of agricultural produce, has been very beneficial.

One of the consequences of the extremely hot summers is that the Rumanian harvest is exceptionally early ; properly speaking it begins in June, though the rape crop is gathered as early as May. The winter crops (wheat and winter barley) are gathered by the end of June and the spring crops (oats and barley) by the end of July. The maize crop is not gathered until November, as it is not allowed by the Government to be gathered before it is 'cured'. If gathered and used for food before then, it is likely to cause sickness. Preparation for the sowing of the 'winter crop' begins in August, and sowing goes on until November. The winter crop consists of wheat, rape, and a small quantity of barley. The spring crops (oats and barley) are sown as soon as the frost breaks. The corn crops other than maize are exported in the autumn ; the bulk of the maize crop is not exported until the spring after it has been gathered, and the small quantity which is exported in the autumn is usually mixed with old maize in order to disguise it.

The ground is very fertile, and very little use is made of artificial manure as an agent of production.

(a) Products of Commercial Value

The chief corn crops, maize, wheat, barley, oats, and rye, together with colza, linseed, and rape, are cultivated throughout the country except in the mountainous districts, but the largest production comes from the valleys of the Pruth and Sereth in Moldavia and the plains of the Danube in Wallachia. The cultivation of sugar-beet and tobacco has increased considerably in recent years, upwards of 25,000 hectares being now devoted to these crops. The bulk of the fruit is grown in the provinces which lie on the southern slopes of the Transylvanian Alps. The area devoted to the production of plums is about 70,000 hectares, and to vines about 83,000 hectares. The latter are chiefly cultivated in the valleys of the Sereth and Pruth. A large quantity of the productive land in the neighbourhood of the rivers is utilized as pasture; the area under grass (natural and artificial pastures) in 1907 was 578,638 hectares.

Maize and Wheat.—By far the most important of Rumanian crops are maize and wheat. Normally more than two-thirds of the total area utilized in the production of cereals is devoted to these two crops. The total production of maize is as a rule greater than that of wheat, but, as maize forms a very large portion of the diet of the peasants, the proportion available for export is always considerably less. Notwithstanding this Rumania is a great exporter of maize, and for the period 1909–14 her average annual export of that crop was second only to that of the Argentine. The actual figures are :

| | <i>Metric tons.¹</i> |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Argentine . . . | 3,193,900 |
| Rumania . . . | 1,193,800 |
| United States of America . | 1,010,100 |
| Russia . . . | 718,900 |
| Hungary . . . | 328,700 |

¹ 1 metric ton = 1,000 kilograms or .98 of a ton.

As regards the export of wheat, Rumania occupies the fifth place for the same period, the annual averages being :

| | <i>Metric tons.</i> |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| Russia | 4,348,900 |
| Canada | 2,124,200 |
| Argentine | 2,118,200 |
| United States of America . | 1,677,200 |
| Rumania | 1,353,100 |
| India | 1,277,900 |

The cultivation of barley and oats has increased in recent years, but that is rather at the expense of other crops, such as rye, colza, and linseed.

Statistics of the cultivation, production, and yield of the principal crops from 1905 to 1914 are shown in Table I in the Appendix.

Tobacco.—The cultivation of tobacco has increased in recent years, as is shown by the following figures :

| | <i>Area under cultivation.</i> | <i>Production.</i> |
|------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| | <i>Hectares.</i> | <i>Metric tons.</i> |
| 1901 | 4,552 | 2,904 |
| 1905 | 7,717 | 3,944 |
| 1911 | 9,992 | 9,303 |

The export of tobacco of various kinds in 1911 amounted to 1,141 metric tons, against an import of 385 tons.

(b) *Forestry*

A considerable extent of the country, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Carpathians, is still under forest. The area (including land under scrub) amounts to at least 2,690,000 hectares, of which over 1,000,000 hectares belong to the State, 125,000 to the Communes, 71,000 to the Crown Domains, while nearly 1,500,000 are privately owned. The timber obtained consists of oak, beech, fir, elm, poplar, and alder. Of the total area under forest only about 220,000 hectares are being

exploited commercially, and systematic forestry has only been introduced in recent years. There is still a considerable waste by reckless lumber dealers who have no interest in the proper cutting of the forests.

Statistics show that the export of wood from Rumania has increased in the last ten years from a value of 14,887,000 lei to over 24,000,000 lei, but in the same period the import of wooden manufactures has increased from 2,754,000 lei to 15,000,000 lei. There is, therefore, a good opening for the development of the manufacture of wooden articles in the country.

(c) *Land Tenure*

Under the Rumanian Law of Inheritance each child is entitled to a portion out of the land owned by its father. Owing to the great lack of education of the peasants and the absence of any system of registration of title, it became impossible to obtain a good title to land, as there were always numerous persons claiming an interest in each piece of land. To get over this difficulty a system of 'consolidation' was introduced in 1900, under which no lease or transfer of land is operative unless and until it has been 'consolidated', which is the name given to the formalities whereby the transfer of the property is entered on the records of the tribunal having jurisdiction in the locality where the land is situate.

(3) FISHERIES

This industry is owned by the State. Owing to uneconomical exploitations of the fishing grounds and the damage caused by steam navigation, the industry, which in 1880 was of considerable importance, declined to such an extent that in 1893 the import of fish was six times as great as the export.

¹ See also above under 'Agriculture', p. 95.

In 1895 a close period was introduced by legislation, and strict supervision has since been exercised by the State, with the result that the industry is again becoming of importance. The lower reaches of the River Danube and the large lakes and lagoons are the sources of supply; and there are important fish markets at Galatz, Tulcea, Brăila, Bucarest, and Craiova. The fisheries are partly administered directly by the State and partly let on lease.

The chief fish is the carp, which attains a remarkable size, often weighing as much as 20 kg. It is of a much better flavour than the ordinary pond carp. Other species are sturgeon, sterlet, mullet, perch, and tench, and oyster culture is being encouraged. Rumanian caviare, which is large and of grey colour, finds a ready market, and the bulk of it is exported to Germany. The chief export of fish is to Austria and Turkey.

(4) PETROLEUM

The petroleum industry in Rumania has only of recent years developed into a business of magnitude, although the production of petroleum has been carried on on a small scale for many years. It is stated by experts that the Rumanian oil-fields may be regarded as practically continuous from the Serbian frontier on the Danube to the Bukovina. At present petroleum is being produced in four departments, viz. Prahova, Dambovița, Buzău, and Bacău. About 90 per cent. of the production comes from Prahova, where the industry is carried on in sixteen different localities, the chief of which are Moreni, Bustenari, Campina, Băicoiu, and Tintea. In Dambovița it is carried on in five, and in Bacău in four localities.

The oil is obtained partly from hand-dug wells and partly from bore-holes. In recent years the Rumanian Government has paid great attention to the

development of the petroleum industry ; and a school for expert borers has been founded and the most improved methods of extraction have been adopted, among others the rotary boring system which is largely replacing the Canadian system. It is stated that the Rumanian methods of winning oil are at the present time second to none.

The following are the official returns (to the nearest thousand) of the annual production of crude oil in Rumania for the 10 years 1904-13 :

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Metric Tons.</i> |
|----------------|---------------------|
| 1904 | 493,000 |
| 1905 | 605,000 |
| 1906 | 873,000 |
| 1907 | 1,112,000 |
| 1908 | 1,128,000 |
| 1909 | 1,276,000 |
| 1910 | 1,330,000 |
| 1911 | 1,520,000 |
| 1912 | 1,770,000 |
| 1913 | 1,847,000 |

On December 31, 1915, the winning, refining, and sale of petroleum in Rumania were in the hands of 94 companies with a total nominal capital of 536,057,998 lei and paid-up capital of 403,872,563 lei ; of this the bulk is foreign money, Germany providing the greater part. The net profit made by these companies was roughly 47,173,661 lei The principal companies are :

The *Steana Romana*, which has a capital of 120,000,000 lei ; this company is almost entirely German, and the controlling interest in it is held by the Deutsche Bank.

The *Astra Romana*, with a capital of 60,000,000 lei, also a German concern.

The *Rumanian Consolidated Oil Fields, Ltd.*, with a capital of £1,750,000 sterling ; this is an English company.

The *Romano-Americana*, with a capital of 25,000,000 francs. All the shares of this company are held by the Standard Oil Company of America.

The *Orion*, with a capital of 20,100,000 lei; this is a Dutch company.

The *Danube Oil Trading Company of Rumania, Ltd.*, with a capital of £700,000 sterling; this is an English company.

The *Union Oil Co., Ltd.*, with a capital of £600,000 sterling, an Anglo-German concern.

The *Concordia*, with a capital of 12,500,000 lei, also an Anglo-German concern.

The *Chiciurra Oil Fields of Rumania, Ltd.*, with a capital of 12,625,000 lei.

The *United Crude Oil Producers*, with a capital of 11,678,000 lei.

Of the other companies none has a capital exceeding 10,000,000 lei.

Leases of oil lands are obtained from the peasant owners for terms up to 50 years at a nominal rent, plus a royalty on the amount of oil produced. The lessee has to undertake to make good all damage to crops caused by oil fountains, &c. Native labour is very largely used, and the employment of at least 25 per cent. of native labour is made compulsory by the industrial law of the country. Native wages range between 10 lei per day for highly skilled labour and 2.50 lei per day for labourers.

The industry has been handicapped in the past by the insufficiency of transport facilities, and during 1912 a large number of productive wells were for that reason compelled to shut down. A pipe-line had, however, been laid from Băicoiu in the Prahova district to Constanza on the Black Sea and was opened for use as far as Cernavoda on the Danube in 1916; but according to recent information this line was taken

up, during the German occupation of Wallachia, and relaid to the harbour of Giurgiu in order to facilitate the transport of oil to Central Europe. With the additional transport facilities thus afforded the petroleum industry should expand very rapidly, as the Rumanian Government has a large number of tank wagons on the railways and in addition a large fleet of barges on the Danube, which will be available for the transport of oil from those districts not served by the pipe-line. The following are the official figures, in metric tons, of the export of petroleum and its products for the 10 years 1904-13:

| | | <i>Crude, fuel, &c.</i> | <i>Kerosine.</i> | <i>Benzine.</i> | <i>Total.</i> |
|------|---|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1904 | . | 44,516 | 77,064 | 36,403 | 157,983 |
| 1905 | . | 48,709 | 116,322 | 45,983 | 211,014 |
| 1906 | . | 52,548 | 193,774 | 70,032 | 316,354 |
| 1907 | . | 76,580 | 256,306 | 84,241 | 417,127 |
| 1908 | . | 75,032 | 258,322 | 120,451 | 453,805 |
| 1909 | . | 48,951 | 257,629 | 106,516 | 413,096 |
| 1910 | . | 114,435 | 334,080 | 122,403 | 570,918 |
| 1911 | . | 227,790 | 317,645 | 121,854 | 667,289 |
| 1912 | . | 313,580 | 348,145 | 171,161 | 832,886 |
| 1913 | . | 374,258 | 412,209 | 233,532 | 1,029,999 |

The use of oil fuel for industrial purposes has largely increased in Rumania in recent years, and nearly all the locomotives in use on the railways are constructed to use as fuel a mixture of petroleum and coal, coke or wood ; statistics show that, whereas in 1893 only 500 tons of oil were used on the railways, in 1909-10 152,000 tons were used. The stations are being equipped with large reservoirs.

The refining industry is carried on either in the neighbourhood of the oil-fields or at large distributing centres such as Bucarest, Ploesti, Cernavoda, Galatz, Băicoiu, and Constanza. The following figures show the expansion of the refining industry and of the use of petroleum products in the country in recent years :

| | 1900-1. | 1913. |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|
| | <i>Metric tons.</i> | <i>Metric tons.</i> |
| Petroleum refined | 160,717 | 1,787,245 |
| Benzine consumed in the country | 625 | 30,131 |
| Petrol consumed in the country | 30,400 | 51,396 |
| Residues consumed in the country | 55,894 | 560,492 |

In 1908 the Rumanian Government passed a law for the legal apportionment of domestic sales of illuminating oil and for the regulation of prices. The object of this legislation was to prevent the large oil companies from combining to fix the prices of illuminating oil in the domestic market, and ousting the small trader by cutting prices. The apportionment of domestic sales is in general based on the rated annual capacity of crude oil consumption, assisted by a rough sliding scale by means of which small refineries obtain a larger proportionate share of the domestic trade than the larger refineries. The Finance Ministry determines each year the total domestic requirements of illuminating oil, and informs each refinery of the quantity allotted to it for the year. All other refined oil produced must be exported or stored under Government control. The maximum domestic selling prices are fixed by the Government on the basis of the average price of crude oil, with an addition of from 3.50 lei to 4.50 lei for cost of refining and profit. The price may be changed every three months, the refineries being notified by the Council of Ministers.

(5) MINERALS

There is no official information as to the minerals in Rumania. Although a commission was appointed in 1908 to investigate and report on the country's mineral resources, no report has yet been issued. Other information available is largely theoretical.

Amber exists in considerable quantities in Buzău

and on the banks of the Danube, where it is found in the rivers after the spring torrents.

Coal.—Beds of anthracite crop out in various parts of the country. It is mined at Schela in the department of Gorji, and is also found at Moroieni in the department of Dambovița and at Baia de Fer in Valcea.

Bituminous coal is found in different parts of the country, and it is stated that there are extensive beds in the Dobruja.

Lignite (inferior 'brown coal'), mixed with petroleum residues, is largely used for fuel on the railways and in factories. Deposits exist in the departments of Mehedinți, Muscel, Dambovița, Bacău, Rimnicu-Sărat, Buzău, Putna, Gorji, and Prahova.

The following table gives the production of coal of all kinds in metric tons for the years 1902-12 :

| <i>Years.</i> | | | | | <i>Metric tons.</i> |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---------------------|
| 1902-3 | . | . | . | . | 122,485 |
| 1903-4 | . | . | . | . | 124,858 |
| 1904-5 | . | . | . | . | 130,321 |
| 1905-6 | . | . | . | . | 144,327 |
| 1906-7 | . | . | . | . | 128,417 |
| 1907-8 | . | . | . | . | 160,786 |
| 1908-9 | . | . | . | . | 147,370 |
| 1909-10 | . | . | . | . | 165,440 |
| 1910-11 | . | . | . | . | 195,783 |
| 1911-12 | . | . | . | . | 242,027 |

Though there were in existence in 1910 twenty-three concessions to work coal, the industry is not in a flourishing condition, and only employs about 1,000 persons.

Copper is found in the departments of Mehedinți, Suceava, and Tulcea (in the Dobruja). At Baia, in the department of Mehedinți, are found veins of copper pyrites ; the mineralized zone is extensive and continuous, but no development work has yet been done. Deposits of copper pyrites have also been found

at Altuntepe in the centre of the Tulcea district, and these had been worked extensively in places prior to the entry of Rumania into the war. Since the German occupation of the Dobruja considerable advance in the mining of this ore has been made. It is stated (*Chemiker Zeitung*, July 28, 1917) that smelting works for treating copper ores have been erected at Jassy, Bouffea, and Campania, and that about 5 tons of sulphate of copper a day are being produced.

Gold was worked in the days of the Turkish occupation of Rumania, and traces of the metal are found in the gravel in some of the rivers. It is stated that it could be recovered in appreciable quantities.

Graphite is known to exist in the departments of Suceava, Gorji, and Mehedinți, but it is not worked commercially.

Gypsum is said to exist in large quantities in proximity to the beds of salt. It is not worked commercially.

Iron.—Iron manganese is found at Brosteni in the valley of the Bistrița, and the ore is said to contain 35 per cent. of iron. The deposits are estimated at 12,000,000 cubic feet—36,000,000 tons. This body of ore is not yet being worked commercially. Deposits of hematite are said to exist in the departments of Suceava, Muscel, Gorji, Tulcea, and Brăila. Bog-iron has been found in the departments of Mehedinți, Gorji, and Suceava. In 1910 there were seven concessions in existence for working iron in Rumania.

Marble and Granite.—There are large quantities of stone and building material of all kinds in different parts of the country. Most of the quarries are worked by the State. Marble is quarried in the Dobruja and in the departments of Arges, Gorji, and Mehedinți. Excellent granite is found in the Dobruja, and there are important quarries there. The industry employs about 1,600 persons.

Mercury.—There are said to be large deposits of this metal of unsurpassed quality in the districts of Tutova, Muscel, Arges, and Valcea. They are not worked commercially.

Ozokerite occurs in the petroleum region, where there are evidences of large quantities. It is said to contain as much as 30 per cent. of resinous matter. It is being worked at Solești in Bacău.

Salt.—There are rich deposits extending for a distance of about 100 miles along the southern foot-hills of the Carpathians. Two beds at Ocnele-Mari (department of Valcea) and Târgu-Ocna (department of Bacău) are estimated to contain 600,000,000 tons. The salt is found in thick beds at a depth of from 30 to 100 feet below the surface; and it is stated that one of these contains pure rock salt from 800 to 1,000 ft. thick. The industry was being carried on as far back as 1868. It is estimated that on the basis of an annual output of 100,000 tons the deposits will last for 200 years. The industry is a Government monopoly and employs from 900 to 1,000 persons; convict labour is largely employed. The chief centres of the industry are Slănic, Târgu-Ocna, and Ocnele-Mari.

The following table gives the production of salt in metric tons for the years 1902–11 :

| <i>Years.</i> | | | | | <i>Metric tons.</i> |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---------------------|
| 1902–3 | . | . | . | . | 105,056 |
| 1903–4 | . | . | . | . | 109,175 |
| 1904–5 | . | . | . | . | 117,450 |
| 1905–6 | . | . | . | . | 115,681 |
| 1906–7 | . | . | . | . | 124,400 |
| 1907–8 | . | . | . | . | 129,287 |
| 1908–9 | . | . | . | . | 122,978 |
| 1909–10 | . | . | . | . | 148,918 |
| 1910–11 | . | . | . | . | 130,251 |
| 1911–12 | . | . | . | . | 115,251 |

The export of rock salt (chiefly to Bulgaria, Serbia, France, and Russia) was 44,104 metric tons in 1910 and 24,452 in 1911.

Sulphur is found in proximity to the deposits of petroleum. It is not worked commercially.

(6) OTHER INDUSTRIES

Breweries.—There are only 14 large breweries in the whole of Rumania. The best-known firms are those of Bragadir, Luther, and Oppler, all of which are situated at Bucarest. The industry could not flourish prior to 1896 owing to heavy Government and Commune duties; in that year the Government duty was reduced by one-half, and since then the production has largely increased. Rumanian beer is somewhat heavy in character. Barley for brewing it is obtained from the country, malt and wheat from manufacturers chiefly at Bucarest; hops are imported from Germany and Austria. The import of hops, the bulk of which came from Austria, amounted in 1911 to 122 metric tons, of the value of 368,000 lei. A small export trade in beer is done with Turkey and Bulgaria, and a considerable quantity is imported from Germany and Austria.

Building Materials.—This industry has increased in importance in recent years, and in 1911 there were 21 factories in different parts of the country engaged in the output of cement, bricks, glass, &c. The most important branch of the industry is the manufacture of cement, which is in demand for town improvements, waterworks, &c., and the harbour extensions at Constanza. Cement is also used to an increasing extent in the erection of modern buildings. The chief centres of the industry are Cormarnic (where there are four factories), Cernavoad, Brăila, Azuga, and Sinaia. Lime is mostly produced in the district of Muscel, the largest factory being at Câmpulung. The most important

centres of the brick-making trade are Bucarest and Jassy.

Chemical Industry.—Apart from the petroleum refineries, the most important branch of this industry is the manufacture of soap and candles. In addition to numerous small and unimportant factories, there are five large factories at Galatz, five at Brăila, three at Bucarest, and one each at Craiova and Bârlad, with an aggregate nominal capital of 1,363,000 fr. The import of soap and candles has now become insignificant, as the home demand is almost entirely supplied by the Rumanian factories.

There are two factories of chemical manure, of which one is situated at Caracal in Romaneti, six factories for the production of vegetable oil (four in Bucarest, two in Galatz), and two gunpowder factories owned by the State at Bucarest and Laculeți.

Distilleries.—Like the flour-mills, oil-mills, and breweries, the distilleries were excepted until 1906 from the benefits of the industrial law of 1887. There are between forty and fifty establishments employing over 200 hands each. Rumanian spirits are prepared mostly from maize, potatoes, and malt. All the distilleries have their own refineries, as refined spirits alone can be forwarded from the establishments. The larger houses operate with improved appliances introduced from Germany.

Electrical Industry.—This industry has been introduced only in recent years, but is making great strides in Rumania. The plant is mostly supplied by German firms. There are now important electrical works in Bucarest, Jassy, Galatz, Craiova, and Brăila. Electricity is used throughout the country for illuminating purposes, but is used for traction purposes only in Bucarest, Brăila, Galatz, and Jassy.

Flour Milling.—This industry is of long standing,

and so far back as 1876 the annual export of flour amounted to over 1,000 metric tons. There are numerous peasant mills situated on the water-courses in different parts of the country, chiefly used for milling maize, the staple food of the peasants. The number of these is stated to be about 7,500. There are also many steam mills, especially in the departments of Botoșani, Dorohoi, Doljiu, and Mehedinți, which mostly produce flour for home consumption. The milling industry did not get the benefit of the industrial law of 1887 until 1906. In recent years it has developed very rapidly. The most important mills are nearly all situated on the seaports or up-river ports of the Danube, but there are other mills of first importance at Bucarest, Jassy, Craiova, and Ploești. The export of wheat flour, which amounted in 1902 to just over 19,000,000 kilos, reached in 1911 a total of almost 78,000,000 kilos. The bulk of the trade is with the Eastern Mediterranean, especially Turkey and Egypt. It is probable that the transfer to Greece of Turkish islands in the Aegean Sea will affect this trade, as local producers will get the benefit of the Greek tariff. The flour milled is of two distinct kinds, viz. that made from Muntenian wheat and that made from the strong red wheat grown in Moldavia. The former is of poor quality, but the latter is stated to be as good as the best Hungarian flour.

Glass Manufacture.—There are five glass factories of importance in Rumania. The largest, which is owned by a German firm, is at Bogdănești, the others being at Bucarest, Botoșani, Azuga, and Lespezii. The glass manufactured in the country is of the coarser kind, and there is a good demand for glass of better quality from abroad. The value of the glass manufactures imported in 1911 was over 4,000,000 lei. Sand for use in the factories is imported from the

Bukovina and Galicia, although the hills of Moldavia are composed of sand.

Meat.—At one time a considerable trade was done with Germany in the export of live cattle to that country. But the export of live animals through Hungary was prohibited in 1908. Slaughter-houses have, however, been constructed at Turnu-Severin and Burdujeni, in order to facilitate the export of meat to Central Europe, and a considerable trade is now springing up. The export of meat in 1911 (which showed a considerable advance on that of 1910) totalled 1,162 metric tons, of a value of 1,266,000 lei.

Metallurgical Industry.—Though there are according to statistical returns about 30 factories in the country engaged in the metallurgical industry, with the exception of factories for the manufacture of bolts, wire, nails, and the like, of which there are several doing a good trade, nearly all the factories included under this heading are nothing more than fitting and repairing shops. At Bucarest there is a firm of boiler-makers (a branch of a foreign concern), but its balance sheets show that it is not in a flourishing condition.

Silk.—Attempts have been made to found an industry in the manufacture of silk, and for that purpose a number of silk-worm eggs were imported in 1908. The attempts have not been successful, as it is found that there is great risk of the destruction of the mulberry leaves by drought in any but wet summers.

Sugar Factories.—There are five sugar factories and one glucose factory of importance in Rumania. The industry, despite heavy State bounties, failed to prosper in early days, and when the sugar bounties were abolished it was wrecked. In 1895 the bounties were again introduced, and the industry has since recovered and is now in a satisfactory condition. The production for 1910–11 amounted to 50,000 metric tons of sugar and

750 metric tons of glucose. The consumption of sugar in the country increased from 8,000 metric tons in 1899–1900 to 30,000 metric tons in 1910–11. The import of sugar and glucose for 1911 amounted to 900 metric tons, and during the same year nearly 6,000 metric tons were exported, chiefly to Turkey.

Tanneries.—There are between 20 and 30 tanneries in the country, and the industry is on the increase. At present it is hampered by the heavy duties on the import of hides and tannin extracts, but endeavours are being made to obtain a reduction of these duties. The import of boots and other leather goods is very considerable, and has regularly exceeded 3,000,000 lei in value for several years, and with the assistance of a Government tariff a large industry in the country and also throughout the Balkan peninsula might be developed.

Textile Industry.—The total value of the textiles produced in the country has grown rapidly in the last few years and now amounts annually to over £1,200,000. The goods made are of the cheaper kind. In spite of the fact that the duty on the import of yarns is high, no textile fabrics excepting hemp are spun in the country, and wool to the value of about £100,000 is annually exported to be sent back manufactured. The value of cotton yarn imported for use in the mills averaged during the 10 years 1902–11 over £750,000.

There are seven cloth factories, six weaving-mills for cotton and linen, six embroidery factories, eight rope works, four felt factories, and two wadding factories. These are situated mostly in Bucarest, Brăila, Ploești, Jassy, and Piatra (department of Neamtu). Only the coarser kinds of cloth are produced, such as are used for military uniforms and peasants' clothes. The demand is for very heavy clothes, and there is a large consumption of wadding, a good deal of which comes from abroad.

Wooden Goods.—The position of the industry at the present time leaves a good deal to be desired. Although there is a large industry in the sawing of timber (there are upwards of 50 large saw-mills in the country, employing thousands of hands), a large quantity of the timber, especially oak, is exported annually to France in a raw or half-worked state. The export industry is largely in the hands of German firms, which are not concerned to encourage the development of a national industry in the manufacture of wooden goods; and in this direction very little is done. There are only nine factories of any importance for the manufacture of wooden goods, and none of these is in a strong financial position. The import of cabinet-makers' wares and turnery alone amounted in 1911 to upwards of 4,000,000 lei.

(7) WATER-POWER

Experts have calculated that the water-power available in Rumania amounts to not less than 150,000 horse-power, but very little use is yet made of this enormous energy in the industries of the country. In 1912 the power obtained by the use of water throughout the country amounted to only 8,676 h.p., representing only about 6·5 per cent. of the total power used in the country.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

(a) *Towns*¹

BACĂU is the capital of the department of the same name. The population is 17,000. There is railway communication north *via* Suceava to Bukovina, north-west to Piatra, and south to Focșani.

¹ For the chief ports, see above, pp. 81, 86.

Industries.—Manufacture of paper, cloth and clothing, timber, and petroleum. There are branches of two large banks and several small banks.

BOTOȘANI is the capital of the department of the same name, on a branch of the West Moldavian railway. The population is 34,000.

Industries.—Corn and flour mills, distilleries, glass and sugar factories. There are branches of two large and three small banks.

BUCAREST is situated on the River Dambovița in the department of Ilfov. The population is 388,000, including about 50,000 Jews. The city is the seat of the Government and the residence of the King, the financial and judicial centre of Rumania, and the centre of the whole Rumanian railway system.

Industries.—The chief are manufacture of asphalt, boilers, boots and shoes, cement, candles, china, earthenware goods, and bricks. Besides distilleries, breweries, and iron-foundries, there are factories for glucose, glue, leather, paper, rope, soap, and starch, also large petroleum refineries. In addition to the eight principal banks of Rumania which have their offices in Bucarest, there are 22 smaller banks and bankers. Four newspapers, Rumanian and French, and one German, have their offices there.

CRAIOVA, in the department of Doljiu, is an important railway centre. The population is about 52,000. Craiova has railway communication west to Turnu-Severin, south-west to Calafat, east to Pitești and Bucarest, and north to the foot-hills of the Alps at Bumbești. Considerable trade is done here in agricultural products, the principal export centres being Calafat, Cetățea, and Bechetu.

Industries.—Manufacture of belting, candles, carriages, leather, lime, soap, and terra-cotta; there are also corn- and flour-mills.

JASSY is the capital of the department of the same name, and an important railway centre, as the only railway communication with Russia goes east from the town. The population is about 77,000. There are railway communications north to Dorohoi, south to Bârlad, east into Bessarabia for Odessa, and west into the plains of Moldavia.

Industries.—Manufacture of bricks, brushes, candles, furniture, rope, leather, cement, and textiles; brewing, corn- and flour-mills, and iron-foundries. There is a branch of one large bank, and there are six small banks.

PLOEȘTI, the capital of the department of Prahova, is also an important railway centre. The population is about 57,000. The town is the centre of the petroleum industry. There are railway communications south to Bucarest, east to Buzău, south-east to Slobozia and Fetești, north-west to Campina, Sinaia, and *via* Predeal to Brasso (Kronstadt) in Transylvania, and north to Slănic and Valeni.

Industries.—Corn- and flour-mills, manufacture of candles, soap, cloth, plaster of Paris, and leather goods, distilleries and manufacture of spirits, tanneries. There are branches of three large banks and there are four small banks.

(b) *Chambers of Commerce*

There are ten Chambers of Commerce in Rumania, situated at Craiova, Pitești, Ploesti, Bucarest, Brăila, Galatz, Focșani, Jassy, Botoșani, and Constanza, each of which has jurisdiction over certain specified departments; by this means the whole country is brought within the purview of the Chambers of Commerce. Meetings of the Chambers of Commerce are held periodically, when matters of commercial importance are discussed. All merchants and traders are entitled

to become members and to benefit from all information available at the Chamber of Commerce to which they belong. It does not appear from the returns that the most important branches of industry and commerce are properly represented in the membership of the different Chambers.

(c) *Commercial Intelligence Department*

In 1912 the Rumanian Government created, under the control of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, a Central Bureau for the collection and supply of commercial information. The object was to furnish to merchants and traders, and to all persons wishing to trade in Rumania or any other country, information free of charge on all questions of general economic interest, and to collect and disseminate through the medium of the official publications all tenders and advertisements likely to be of interest to merchants and traders. The Department was divided into various sub-departments, each corresponding with the different Chambers of Commerce and having its head office at the same place. Commercial Attachés to the Department were appointed in various countries for the purpose of collecting and forwarding information upon commercial matters for dissemination throughout the country; and a system was instituted by means of which information might be obtained from the Department either by letter or interview. In addition it was intended that the Department should be enabled to furnish information as to the credit and reputation of merchants and traders in the country or abroad to any persons desiring information.

(d) *German Commercial Penetration*

It is only necessary to read the directory of merchants trading in the chief towns of Rumania to realize that

in all branches of commerce in that country Germans play a very large part. This is in spite of the fact that the Rumanians have always looked upon themselves as Latins, and have imbibed French ideas and customs, and largely use the French language as an alternative to their own tongue.

Although so early as 1839 there was a German colony in Bucarest of sufficient importance to warrant the Prussian and Austrian Governments taking official steps to safeguard their interests, German commercial activity in the country dates, properly speaking, from the time when a German prince was established on the throne in 1866 as the first king of a united Rumania. So early as 1840 two German newspapers had been founded in Bucarest, but the first step towards the introduction of Germans into Rumanian commercial life was taken when a German financier named Strousberg was entrusted with the construction of railways in Rumania. Dr. Strousberg was unsuccessful in his efforts, as he met with a great deal of opposition on every side, and ultimately was compelled to give up the enterprise as a failure. The money having, however, been found in Germany, and having also been guaranteed by the Rumanian Government, this failure was used by Bismarck to force the Rumanian Government to conclude a fresh arrangement with the assistance of German money.

From that time onward, with one exception, all Rumanian loans have been raised in Germany, and in 1915 Germans actually held over one third of the Rumanian public debt, which at that time amounted to upwards of £60,000,000 sterling. Of the eight large banking concerns in Rumania (exclusive of the Rumanian National Bank), four have been founded either directly or indirectly by German and Austrian money; and German capital amounts to at

least 50 per cent. of the total capital involved in Rumanian banking businesses. Germany, too, holds a very large share in almost all the branches of Rumanian industry. For instance, the manufacture of sugar from beet is almost entirely in German hands; German and Austrian capital have established two rice-cleaning mills at Brăila; Germans are largely interested in the manufacture of nails, which is almost the only flourishing metal industry in Rumania; the electrical industry is largely in German hands, as is also the milling and flour trade. In addition, Germans hold the largest interest in the petroleum industry.

This result has been brought about in several ways. In the first place, the Central European railways grant special reductions to goods destined for Rumania, the result of this being that German goods dispatched by rail are thereby enabled to compete on almost equal terms with sea-borne goods from other countries. In the second place, the German steamship lines to the East work in connexion with the Rumanian Maritime Service which runs between Constanza and Alexandria; the Atlantica Steamship Company, trading between Hamburg, Antwerp, and the Danube, is subsidized by the Austrian Government; and the Austrian and Hungarian lighter companies, also subsidized by their respective Governments, are the strongest concerns trading on the Danube. Moreover, in recent years an express service has been run from Berlin to Bucarest and Constanza in connexion with the steamers owned by the Rumanian Government; and by that means an increasing passenger traffic *via* Constanza to Constantinople and the Eastern Mediterranean has sprung up. Again, an important navigation company was formed in 1913 at Munich under the name of the Bavarian Lloyd, backed by the Deutsche Bank and various German petroleum com-

panies, the object of which was to increase the importance of the Danube as a waterway for the export of German goods. In addition, Germany has taken care to exercise all the influence possible in the country by means of German schools which are scattered all over Rumania, and of which the most important, those at Bucarest, are supervised and subsidized by the German Government. The schools are not confined to Germans residing in Rumania, but are open to Rumanians as well. By this means the German language has gradually become very widely known amongst the educated classes in the country; and, as a result, German universities attract Rumanian students in constantly increasing numbers. The German habit of forming a German society wherever a few of the nation are found together has also been instrumental in exercising a powerful social influence in the country.

In addition to these influences, German traders have for many years made it their business to send their representatives constantly about the country, and have assisted their trade also by publishing in the Rumanian language and in a form attractive to Rumanian ideas the trade circulars and catalogues of goods which are offered to the country. They also apparently go much farther than English traders in meeting the requirements of small Rumanian merchants as to the size and quality of their consignments of goods.

As a result of the increase of German influence in Rumania, there is no doubt that Germany has in recent years looked upon the Rumanian route to the Black Sea as likely to prove an important adjunct to her schemes in Asia. It is noteworthy that proposals were on foot in 1913 for the transfer of the Rumanian Maritime Service, which has for many years been run at a loss, into a private concern to be

controlled by Germans and financed with German capital. Moreover, proposals have since the outbreak of war appeared in German newspapers, which show that the Rumanian railways are intended to form part of the projected international system running from Hamburg to Bagdad.

(2) FOREIGN

The following tables relating to foreign trade appear in the Appendix :

Table II.—Principal articles exported, 1901–11.

Table III.—Total value of exports, distinguishing principal countries, 1901–11.

Table IV.—Percentage of value of exports taken by different countries, 1901–11.

Table V.—Percentage of quantity of exports taken by different countries, 1901–11.

Table VI.—Principal articles imported, 1902–11.

Table VII.—Percentage of value of imports from different countries.

Table VIII.—Percentage of quantity of imports from different countries.

The figures given in this report relating to export trade are taken from the *Statistical Abstract* where possible ; other figures are those given in the Rumanian official publication *Comerțul Exterior al României* for 1911. The figures relating to import trade are taken from the latter publication.

In considering the external trade of Rumania it must be borne in mind that the figures for the years subsequent to 1911 are not reliable as an indication of the prosperity of the country. In the first place, the Dardanelles were closed for considerable periods in 1912 and 1913 owing to the war between Turkey and Italy and the two Balkan Wars, with the result that the export of goods from the country by sea was

greatly restricted; and, in the second place, the purchase of grain by the Rumanian Government for military purposes diverted large quantities of grain which in normal times would have gone abroad. In weight the exports of Rumania have always been considerably in excess of the imports, but down to the year 1899 the imports were invariably of greater value. Since that year, however, the export trade has, with two exceptions, invariably shown an excess in value over the import trade, the two exceptions being the years 1904 and 1908, when the Rumanian harvest was exceptionally bad. The following are the official figures:

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Exports.</i> | | <i>Imports.</i> | | <i>Excess</i> | <i>Excess</i> |
|--------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|--|-----------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Fr.</i> | | <i>Fr.</i> | | <i>exports.</i> | <i>imports.</i> |
| 1901 | . | 353,831,000 | 292,436,000 | | 61,395,000 | — |
| 1902 | . | 374,819,000 | 283,345,000 | | 91,474,000 | — |
| 1903 | . | 355,630,000 | 269,924,000 | | 85,706,000 | — |
| 1904 | . | 261,872,000 | 311,372,000 | | — | 49,500,000 |
| 1905 | . | 457,101,000 | 337,538,000 | | 119,563,000 | — |
| 1906 | . | 491,360,000 | 422,114,000 | | 69,246,000 | — |
| 1907 | . | 554,019,000 | 430,509,000 | | 123,510,000 | — |
| 1908 | . | 379,431,000 | 414,058,000 | | — | 34,627,000 |
| 1909 | . | 465,057,000 | 368,300,000 | | 96,757,000 | — |
| 1910 | . | 616,505,000 | 409,716,000 | | 206,789,000 | — |
| 1911 | . | 691,720,000 | 569,745,000 | | 121,975,000 | — |

Rumania is a purely agricultural country, that industry forming the occupation of about 80 per cent. of the inhabitants; consequently the volume of the country's external trade depends almost entirely upon whether the harvest in the country has been good or bad.

(a) *Exports*

Down to the year 1911 cereals represented not less than 70 per cent. in value of the total exports of the country and, although the export of petroleum and its products increased from 57,641 metric tons in 1901 to over 667,000 tons in 1911 (see p. 103), it had only just

begun to have any appreciable effect upon the volume of the country's exports. As the harvest is far the greatest source of income of the country, a bad harvest reacts immediately upon the imports as well as on the exports. For instance, the year 1908 was an extremely bad one for the harvest, and the year 1909 was not good enough to leave any margin over for any unnecessary expenditure; consequently the value of imports fell from 430,000,000 lei in 1907 to less than 370,000,000 lei in 1909. The prosperity of the country has increased enormously in recent years, the total value of the external trade for 1911 amounting to 1,260,000,000 lei as against 475,000,000 lei in 1880, while in the period 1901-11 alone the external trade of the country was practically doubled.

The cereals exported by the country consist mainly of wheat and maize, the average quantity of these two crops exported during the eleven years 1901-11 being 1,136,994 metric tons of wheat and 832,389 metric tons of maize (see Table II). Next in importance amongst cereals is the barley crop, which for the same period showed an average export of 335,115 metric tons. Other crops in which a considerable export is done are oats, rye, linseed, millet, and beans. A considerable and increasing export trade was also being done in flour and bran. The export of wood, the bulk of which comes from Moldavia, showed some slight increase during the period 1901-11, but represented an annual value of only about 24,000,000-28,000,000 lei. The remaining exports consist chiefly of eggs, fish, hides, refined sugar, and raw wool.

Normally, the chief purchasers of Rumanian exports are Belgium, Austria, Holland, the United Kingdom, and Germany. The exports to Belgium consist almost entirely of cereals, of which a large quantity ultimately find their way to the United Kingdom. Belgium's share of the export trade has decreased since 1901,

part of the trade having been taken by Holland; it nevertheless represents an average in value of 35·9 per cent. and in quantity of 33·5 per cent. of Rumania's total export trade for the period 1901-11. The quantity taken annually by Austria depends upon the quality of the Austrian harvest. In 1904 and in 1909, when the Austrian harvest was bad, that country took over 20 and 24 per cent. in value of the Rumanian exports. In other years the percentage taken by Austria has averaged about 9 per cent. Holland's share of Rumanian exports has increased since 1903 and now averages over 15 per cent., that of the United Kingdom being rather less. The exports to the United Kingdom consist mainly of cereals, of which maize normally forms the bulk, and mineral oils. Germany, whose export trade to Rumania has of recent years been the largest, does not on the average purchase more than 6 per cent. of Rumania's exports.

(b) Imports

Since 1901 Germany has had the lion's share of the import trade into Rumania, notwithstanding the advantages of geographical position which Austria possesses (see Tables VII, VIII). During the period 1901-11 the imports from Germany into Rumania represented between 27 and 34 per cent. of the total value of Rumania's imports. The imports from Austria during the same period varied between 29 per cent. in 1904 and 22 per cent. in 1908. In point of quantity the United Kingdom has always had a large percentage of the import trade, owing to the fact that Rumania imports most of her coal from Great Britain; in point of value, however, the imports from the United Kingdom into Rumania, which were only 19·5 per cent. of the whole in 1902, have never reached that figure since then, but have shown a slight gradual decrease. These

three countries taken together normally do over 72 per cent. of Rumania's total import trade; Italy and France each do between 4 and 6 per cent., Turkey and Russia between 3 and 4 per cent. In 1911 the United States contributed $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

It is shown by the Table VI in the Appendix that the chief imports into Rumania are iron and steel manufactures, machinery, cotton and linen goods, wool and woollen goods, vehicles, jute manufactures and wearing apparel, leather and leather goods, and silk manufactures.

Iron and Steel Manufactures and Coal.—The import of these goods made a great advance during the years 1902–1911 owing to the development of railways by the State, the development of industries generally, and particularly the petroleum industry, and the large sums which have been expended in urban improvements by the chief towns of the country. The imports for 1911 were valued at about 80,000,000 lei, as against 18,000,000 lei in 1901. The import of coal showed only a small increase during that period owing to the large increase in the use of petroleum and its residues as fuel.

The imports of coal and iron and steel goods (other than machinery) for 1911 were supplied by the following countries :

| | <i>Coal.</i> | <i>Iron and Steel</i> |
|---------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>Tons.</i> | <i>Manufactures.</i> |
| | <i>Tons.</i> | <i>Tons.</i> |
| United Kingdom | 194,906 | 41,302 |
| Germany | 24,757 | 94,171 |
| Austria-Hungary | 14,022 | 54,992 |
| Belgium | 14 | 19,802 |
| Holland | 5,692 | 2,499 |
| France | — | 1,560 |

Machinery.—This branch of import trade has shown a steady increase, from 15,700,000 lei in 1902 to 59,156,000 lei in 1911. The import of agricultural

machinery has largely increased of recent years with the development of systematic agriculture in the country, and in 1911 this item contributed 20,000,000 lei of the total machinery import. The following are the figures for the chief varieties of agricultural machinery imported in 1911 :

| | <i>Lei</i> |
|--------------------------|------------|
| Traction engines . . . | 4,187,000 |
| Threshing machines . . . | 4,218,000 |
| Drills | 870,000 |
| Reaping machines . . . | 8,748,000 |
| Other machinery . . . | 2,023,000 |

The last-named item includes machinery driven by steam, gas, petrol, and electric power, in which there has been an important increase.

The imports of machinery in 1911 were divided between different countries as follows :

| | <i>Germany.</i> | <i>Austria-Hungary.</i> | <i>United States.</i> | <i>United Kingdom.</i> |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| | <i>Lei</i> | <i>Lei</i> | <i>Lei</i> | <i>Lei</i> |
| Traction engines . . . | 1,480,226 | 1,041,108 | 19,213 | 1,506,580 |
| Threshing machines . . . | 1,087,783 | 1,880,806 | 11,188 | 1,195,169 |
| Reapers | 550,302 | 7,884 | 7,605,914 | 377,799 |
| Drills | 292,469 | 436,344 | 111,213 | 22,686 |
| Steam engines | 3,581,794 | 1,635,305 | 9,958 | 111,930 |
| Petrol engines | 1,620,272 | 264,249 | 115,394 | 624,572 |
| Dynamo electric engines | 4,876,517 | 330,715 | 13,120 | 32,085 |
| Cables | 4,473,194 | 1,278,188 | — | 32,645 |

Vehicles.—The import of these showed in 1911 a value almost $3\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than that of 1910 and 5 times greater than that of 1909. This was due to large imports of railway trucks, carriages, and motor cars. The purchases under this heading showed indeed a marked increase during the years 1902–11, averaging over 10 million lei for the years 1908–10 as against an average of just over 1,000,000 lei for the period 1902–5. The countries from which they came in 1911 were :

| | <i>Lei.</i> |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Belgium | 14,857,000 |
| Austria-Hungary | 12,239,000 |
| Germany | 4,387,000 |
| France | 3,499,000 |
| Italy | 1,495,000 |

Cotton and Jute Yarns and Tissues.—The trade in goods of this class showed an expansion of 29 per cent. in the period 1902–11. The total for 1911 was 91,558,000 lei, imported mainly from the following countries :

| | <i>Lei.</i> |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| United Kingdom | 31,837,000 |
| Austria-Hungary | 18,653,000 |
| Italy | 16,252,000 |
| Germany | 15,647,000 |
| France | 2,201,000 |
| Switzerland | 2,038,000 |
| Belgium | 1,707,000 |
| United States | 1,083,000 |

Cotton and Jute Manufactures.—This category comprises chiefly (a) curtains, covers, table linen, drapery, and tissues (embroidered by hand); (b) jute goods; (c) oil-cloth, &c. Apart from the year 1911, when the import of these articles was exceptionally high, this trade has shown little expansion. These goods were supplied in 1911 mainly by the following countries :

| | <i>Lei.</i> |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Austria-Hungary | 10,939,000 |
| Germany | 5,702,000 |
| France | 4,177,000 |
| United Kingdom | 3,303,000 |
| Switzerland | 1,190,000 |
| Italy | 1,121,000 |

Woollen Goods.—Imports under this heading consist chiefly of (a) woollen tissues and stuffs; (b) felt, hats, &c.; (c) natural wools; (d) woollen yarn. This

branch of trade also showed a steady increase during the years 1902–11, having risen from an average of 25,000,000 lei to one of 39,000,000 lei annually.

In 1911 the bulk of the imports came from the following countries :

| | <i>Lei.</i> |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| Germany | 22,368,000 |
| United Kingdom | 8,185,000 |
| Austria-Hungary | 11,509,000 |
| Italy | 4,292,000 |
| France | 2,670,000 |

Hides and Leather Articles.—Except for the year 1911, which was abnormal, the annual import of these goods was usually of a value of about 13,000,000 lei. In 1911 the imports amounted to 23,000,000 lei, supplied mainly by the following countries :

| | <i>Lei.</i> |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Germany | 10,173,000 |
| Austria | 8,153,000 |
| France | 1,629,000 |
| United Kingdom | 1,473,000 |

Silk Goods.—This branch of trade showed a steady increase during the period 1902–11. The imports in 1911 were exceptionally high and were supplied mainly by the following countries :

| | <i>Lei.</i> |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| Germany | 6,063,000 |
| France | 5,005,000 |
| Austria-Hungary | 3,360,000 |
| Switzerland | 2,984,000 |
| United Kingdom | 1,916,000 |
| Italy | 1,007,000 |

Trees, Wood, and Wooden Manufactures.—These consist chiefly of cabinet-makers' wares, tanning substances, young vines, casks and barrels of oak, and basket work. The import of goods in this category increased largely during the period 1902–11, totalling

over 15,000,000 lei in 1911 as against 2,700,000 lei in 1902. In 1911 they were provided chiefly by :

| | <i>Lei</i> |
|-----------------------|------------|
| Austria-Hungary . . . | 6,348,000 |
| Germany | 3,070,000 |
| France | 1,501,000 |
| United Kingdom . . . | 804,000 |
| Italy | 620,000 |

(c) *Customs and Tariffs*

The present customs tariff in Rumania dates from March 1, 1906. For the purpose of the tariff, articles are divided into three main headings: animals and animal products, products of the soil, and products of the subsoil.

The tariff is very wide and covers practically everything of value. It is designed to produce revenue and not to protect home industries, and therefore makes no discrimination in favour of raw materials or manufactured goods not produced in the country. The incidence of the tariff is affected by various commercial treaties with the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, France, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Sweden, Greece, and Denmark. It is also affected by the laws for the encouragement of industry passed in 1887 and 1906, under which industrial undertakings possessing a fixed capital of at least 5,000 lei, and employing a minimum of 25 work-people, obtain the following advantages, provided not less than two-thirds of the workmen employed are Rumanians :—

(1) A free grant in case of need of from 1 to 5 hectares as a site for a factory.

(2) Freedom from all direct taxation by the State, district, or commune.

(3) Freedom from customs duties for machinery and apparatus needed either for the erection of the factory or for running it.

(4) Freedom from customs duties for raw material not obtainable in the country.

(5) A reduction of 25 per cent. on the railway transport charges on all products of the factory.

(6) A reduction on the tax on revenue for a period of 30 years.

(7) A grant of free use of water-power for purposes of the factory.

(d) *Transit Trade*

Rumania's transit trade is not of great importance and is decreasing. For the period 1901-11 it averaged only 144,000 metric tons per annum. The traffic is almost entirely in goods, mainly grain and wood, consigned from and to countries contiguous with Rumania, for the transport of which the Danube is the most convenient route. A certain amount of postal traffic has arisen of recent years in connexion with the express train service from the Central European Empires to the East.

(e) *Trade Routes*

1. The principal trade route is the Danube, and the imports and exports *via* the mouth of the Danube, i. e. through Brăila, Galatz, and Sulina, in normal years amounted to 40 per cent. of the total trade. A large quantity of the export trade is brought down the Danube in lighters, and is trans-shipped to ocean-going vessels at one of these three ports for export abroad. In recent years Constanza has become a port of great importance for both the export and import trade ; this is owing partly to its railway connexion via the Danube bridge at Cernavoda with the plains of Moldavia and Wallachia, and partly to the fact that it is the only open port on the Black Sea during January and February, when the Danube is normally ice-bound ;

consequently, during the winter months the whole of the import and export trade *via* the Black Sea is done through this port.

The actual amount of export trade done by Sulina is considerably in excess of that shown in the official returns, because corn sent down in lighters from the river ports of the Danube for trans-shipment at Sulina is not included in the figures of exports from Sulina; and, as that port has no railway connexion with any part of Rumania, there is practically no consignment of goods from up country to Sulina other than that carried by lighters for trans-shipment.

2. Goods consigned to and from Galicia and the Bukovina are sent *via* Burdujeni and Czernowitz. The export by this route in normal years does not exceed 2·5 per cent. of the total export trade, but the import trade is considerably larger, and amounts on an average to over 7 per cent. of the total trade.

3. Goods consigned to or from Transylvania are sent *via* Dorna or Predeal, and to a less extent *via* the Rother Thurm Pass or Orsova. The export of goods by these routes is normally small, but the import is considerable, consisting largely of expensive goods of small weight.

4. Exports to Russia go mostly *via* the mouth of the Danube, but a considerable trade is done by rail *via* Jassy.

5. For exports and imports between Rumania and Bulgaria the Danube is the sole route, and the bulk of goods consigned to or from Bulgaria are shipped from the ports of Corabia, Turnu-Magurele, Zimnicea, and Giurgiu, and the Bulgarian ports of Ruschuk, Sistov, Lom Palanka, and Vidin.

(D) FINANCE

(1) PUBLIC FINANCE

The Budget of Rumania has shown a steady increase in recent years, as the following figures show :

| <i>Budget.</i> | <i>Lei.</i> |
|----------------|-------------|
| 1901-2 | 218,500,000 |
| 1905-6 | 232,620,000 |
| 1909-10 | 435,685,000 |
| 1913-14 | 536,360,050 |

The increase is largely due to expenditure on public works and to the increased requirements for the service of the public debt, which, as the result of a number of loans contracted for the purpose of railway and harbour improvement, rose from 1,240,000,000 lei in 1898 to 1,840,000,000 lei in 1915.

With one exception all the loans of the Rumanian Government prior to 1914 were raised in Germany, and German financiers were thereby enabled to obtain for themselves valuable collateral advantages, such as a monopoly for the manufacture of cigarette papers. It is stated that in 1915 Germans held no less than one-third of the total public debt of Rumania.

The finances of the country were in a healthy state down to the year 1912, and the annual revenue during the previous decade showed a satisfactory surplus over expenditure.

The Revenue is derived from the following principal sources :

Direct taxes :—land tax, tax on patents, licences on sale of spirits, 5 per cent. tax on salaries, tax on vines and plum orchards, &c.

Indirect taxes :—customs and excise.

State monopolies on sale of tobacco, cigarette papers, matches, playing cards, explosives, and salt.

Revenue from public services, viz. postal and

telegraph services and harbour and dock dues, profits of the Rumanian River Service.

Revenue from State domains, viz. farms, forests, fisheries, mines and quarries, sale of salt for export, sale of Government lands.

(2) CURRENCY

Unit 1 ban.

100 bani = 1 leu, value $9\frac{3}{4}$ d. or 1 franc.

25.22 lei = £1 sterling.

Gold in 12, 20, 25, 50, and 100 lei pieces.

Silver in 50 bani, 1, 2, and 5 lei pieces.

Copper in 1, 2, 5, and 10 bani pieces.

Nickel in 5, 10, and 20 bani pieces.

National Bank Notes of 5, 20, 100, 500, and 1,000 lei are in use.

In normal times the exchange on London fluctuates between lei 25.20 and 25.46 to the £1.

(3) BANKS AND CREDIT INSTITUTIONS

The principal banks of Rumania are the following :

Banque Nationale de Roumanie. Capital, 12,000,000 lei. Head office, Bucarest. Branches: Brăila, Craiova, Galatz, Jassy, and 27 agencies.

Bank of Rumania, Ltd. Capital, £300,000. Head office, London. Branch at Bucarest. This is an English concern. Dividends: 1911, $8\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; 1912, $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; 1913, $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Banque Générale Roumaine. Capital, 12,500,000 lei. Head office, Bucarest. London agents: the Diskonto-Gesellschaft. Branches at Brăila, Constanza, Craiova, Giurgiu, Ploesti, and Turnu-Magurele. Dividend in 1912, 10 per cent. This is a German concern, and was founded in 1895 by the Diskonto-Gesellschaft and S. Bleichröder of Berlin.

Banque Commerciale Roumaine. Capital, 12,000,000 lei. Head office, Bucarest. Branches at Brăila, Craiova, Balchik, Galatz, Constanza, Ploesti. This bank, though nominally founded in Antwerp, is an offshoot of the Darmstädter Bank, and works entirely with German capital.

Banque Marmorosch, Blank & Co. Capital, 15,000,000 lei. Head office, Bucarest. Branches at Brăila, Constanza, Giurgiu, Turnu-Magurele. London agents: Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, London County and Westminster Bank. Dividends, 1909-12, 10 per cent. This bank was founded partly with Rumanian capital in conjunction with the Darmstädter Bank.

Banca Romaneasca. Capital, 25,598,000 lei. Head office, Bucarest. Branches at Brăila, Constanza, Galatz, Silistra, Tulcea. London agents: Banque Belge pour l'Étranger.

Banque Agricole. Capital, 18,500,000 lei. Head office, Bucarest. Branches in 13 large Rumanian towns. London agents: Banque Belge pour l'Étranger.

Banca Romana. Head office, Brăila. London agents: Deutsche Bank.

In addition to the foregoing there are in Rumania numbers of small private banks which have their places of business in Bucarest or other large towns.

There is also a system of credit institutions founded by the State for the purpose of assisting agriculture in the country. The following are the most important :

Crédit Foncier Rural. This was designed to assist purchases by large proprietors of Government monastic lands which were in 1873 offered for sale. By means of this the purchasers of property were enabled to leave a large portion of the purchase price on mortgage, to be amortized by annual payments over a long or short term. The Crédit Foncier Rural is now a national institution of the first importance.

Agricultural Bank. This was instituted in 1894 as a company limited by shares for the purpose of financing agricultural industry. It advances money on agricultural merchandise and products, animals, and implements.

Caisse Rurale. This was established under a law passed in 1908 to assist Rumanian peasant farmers to purchase their farms. The capital is 10,000,000 lei, of which 50 per cent. was provided by the State and 50 per cent. by public subscription. The shares are registered, and can only be held by Rumanian subjects. The institution acts as an intermediary between proprietors who desire to sell their lands and peasants who desire to buy them, and if necessary fixes the price payable by the latter. As a protection for the peasants it has a right to review bargains made by peasants with proprietors, in cases where the former appear to have been unfairly treated. The operations of the Caisse Rurale in 1910 and 1911 showed profits respectively of 420,000 lei and 639,000 lei.

Crédit Agricole. This institution was founded in 1892 with the object of advancing on loan to farmers the sums necessary for agriculture and the industries derived from it, and also to assist farmers who are in need of money to stock farms which they have purchased.

There were also in 1912 in different parts of Rumania numerous rural banks, most of which were founded since 1901. The total number of these in that year was 2,656, and the aggregate paid-up capital amounted to over 61,000,000 lei. There are also 17 artisan banks and about 300 co-operative societies of various kinds.

The prosperity of the urban population in Rumania in the years 1910-12, and the large increase of industrial activity during the same period, caused a large number

of small banks to spring into existence at that time. Apparently there is no State control over the formation of banks in Rumania; and there is no doubt that unless this tendency is checked it will lead to great financial difficulty in times when agriculture is less prosperous. Apart from this there is evidence to show that the rural banks and the co-operative societies have done much to increase the agricultural prosperity of the country, as they have enabled the small peasant farmers to purchase for co-operative use agricultural machinery which is of the greatest importance to their industry.

(E) GENERAL REMARKS

THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF THE DOBRUJA TO RUMANIA

The economic value of the Dobruja to Rumania, apart from the minerals which it contains and the access which it gives to the Black Sea at all seasons of the year, is not great. The Dobruja became part of Rumania by the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, being then a most unwelcome present from Russia in exchange for Bessarabia. Since that date Rumania has not done a great deal to develop the country.

As regards agriculture, the northern part of the Dobruja is not of very great value, the marshes which fringe the course of the Danube being succeeded by waterless steppe only suitable for grazing land. To the south, however, in the neighbourhood of Constanza, agriculture has been undertaken and a considerable amount is now done. Farther south, the area under cultivation is still more extensive; and the portion of the Dobruja which was given to Rumania by the Treaty of Bucarest was looked upon by Bulgaria as one of the most productive districts of the Kingdom.

A great deal of grain was exported from Varna ; and the exports of grain from Balchik, all of which came from the immediate neighbourhood, averaged over 50,000 tons for the years 1910-11.

The exploitation of the minerals in the Tulcea district of the Dobruja had only recently begun when war broke out, but, as soon as the Germans had driven the Rumanians northwards across the Danube, they took immediate steps to exploit the copper deposits there ; and it is stated that copper ore was produced in large quantities and exported to Germany. Though Rumania possesses other deposits of copper, these are the only deposits where any attempt has been made at commercial development. Of the other minerals in the Dobruja the most important is coal. The deposits have not yet been exploited and of their commercial value not much is known.

The real value of the Dobruja to Rumania, however, lies in the possession of the port of Constanza. That port has been made and developed by the Rumanian Government for the purpose of supplying the country with an ice-free port, of which it is in need, and without which it must be placed in a position of dependence upon its neighbours. Moreover, the port of Constanza would be of no service to Bulgaria. The produce of that part of the Dobruja which is served by Constanza is, and for many years to come will be, insignificant ; and in Bulgarian hands the port would only offer means of checking the independent economic development of Rumania and would be a constant source of friction.

APPENDIX

TABLE I. PRINCIPAL CROPS

| 1. Area under Cultivation (in hectares). | | | 2. Total Yield (in quintals). | | | | 3. Yield per Hectare (in quintals). | | | |
|--|------------|------------|-------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Crop. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. | 1912. | 1913. | 1914. |
| WHEAT. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1,958,250 | 2,022,843 | 1,714,317 | 1,801,685 | 1,689,044 | 1,948,217 | 1,930,164 | 2,069,420 | 1,623,105 | 2,111,730 |
| 2 | 28,511,180 | 30,561,500 | 11,648,107 | 15,108,643 | 16,022,536 | 30,162,399 | 26,033,561 | 24,334,331 | 22,913,340 | 12,599,745 |
| 3 | 14.6 | 15.1 | 6.8 | 8.4 | 9.5 | 15.5 | 13.5 | 11.8 | 14.1 | 6.0 |
| MAIZE. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1,975,761 | 2,081,906 | 1,928,592 | 2,020,315 | 2,123,473 | 1,986,259 | 2,085,251 | 2,079,220 | 2,146,971 | 2,065,566 |
| 2 | 16,083,949 | 35,423,231 | 15,622,927 | 21,406,939 | 19,031,690 | 28,129,198 | 30,041,407 | 28,198,466 | 31,113,288 | 27,827,065 |
| 3 | 8.1 | 17.0 | 8.1 | 10.6 | 9.0 | 14.2 | 14.4 | 13.6 | 14.5 | 13.5 |
| RYE. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 161,199 | 183,929 | 146,659 | 147,052 | 136,564 | 173,861 | 131,796 | 107,244 | 90,583 | 84,073 |
| 2 | 1,876,194 | 2,293,526 | 652,462 | 674,555 | 789,542 | 2,014,472 | 1,274,721 | 915,447 | 948,025 | 496,943 |
| 3 | 11.6 | 12.5 | 4.4 | 4.6 | 5.8 | 11.6 | 9.7 | 8.5 | 10.5 | 5.9 |
| BARLEY. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 528,758 | 558,700 | 509,693 | 620,190 | 549,186 | 549,391 | 507,201 | 499,885 | 562,539 | 568,422 |
| 2 | 5,857,250 | 7,446,054 | 4,454,011 | 2,817,104 | 4,494,512 | 6,441,104 | 5,686,522 | 4,557,783 | 6,022,717 | 5,366,280 |
| 3 | 11.1 | 13.3 | 8.7 | 4.5 | 8.2 | 11.7 | 11.2 | 9.1 | 10.7 | 9.4 |
| OATS. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 372,730 | 381,914 | 352,468 | 490,338 | 484,504 | 446,760 | 401,415 | 381,785 | 522,149 | 427,506 |
| 2 | 2,875,108 | 3,964,809 | 2,703,554 | 2,480,760 | 4,045,772 | 4,463,669 | 4,016,454 | 3,040,640 | 5,514,336 | 3,673,984 |
| 3 | 7.7 | 10.4 | 7.7 | 5.1 | 8.4 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 8.0 | 10.6 | 8.6 |
| COLZA. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 251,584 | 30,587 | 16,691 | 13,038 | 69,146 | 96,076 | 63,856 | 64,545 | 80,384 | 72,965 |
| 2 | 1,850,169 | 144,921 | 35,417 | 60,280 | 347,932 | 915,348 | 418,783 | 362,753 | 518,139 | 385,738 |
| 3 | 7.4 | 4.7 | 2.1 | 4.6 | 5.0 | 9.5 | 6.6 | 5.6 | 6.4 | 5.3 |
| LINSEED. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 38,473 | 23,540 | 12,825 | 18,157 | 12,173 | 13,402 | 21,124 | 31,761 | 27,299 | 8,357 |
| 2 | 79,147 | 134,744 | 37,495 | 42,609 | 48,501 | 85,695 | 142,289 | 182,332 | 134,447 | 39,059 |
| 3 | 2.4 | 5.7 | 2.9 | 2.3 | 4.0 | 6.4 | 6.7 | 5.7 | 4.9 | 4.7 |

TABLE II. PRINCIPAL EXPORTS. VALUES (in thousands of francs).

| <i>Principal articles.</i> | 1901. | 1902. | 1903. | 1904. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. |
|--|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Cattle | 2,647 | 2,507 | 2,748 | 3,810 | 1,335 | 565 | 811 | 2,351 | 2,231 | 5,457 | 5,958 |
| Cereals: Wheat | 79,593 | 116,655 | 105,806 | 108,710 | 251,342 | 231,523 | 207,256 | 140,378 | 178,402 | 329,619 | 244,824 |
| " Barley | 22,736 | 32,021 | 35,930 | 21,490 | 38,744 | 49,306 | 50,802 | 19,674 | 37,446 | 41,196 | 59,848 |
| " Oats | 10,208 | 16,271 | 29,968 | 9,971 | 14,446 | 19,142 | 14,318 | 7,095 | 20,338 | 17,042 | 26,386 |
| " Rye | 15,792 | 11,286 | 12,539 | 4,890 | 21,933 | 20,419 | 17,005 | 7,695 | 8,872 | 16,015 | 16,606 |
| " Maize | 92,916 | 103,795 | 75,000 | 45,142 | 5,107 | 65,774 | 166,766 | 98,569 | 102,716 | 69,597 | 183,218 |
| " Millet | 4,652 | 1,964 | 1,798 | 695 | 105 | 2,126 | 4,311 | 2,458 | 1,729 | 1,679 | 4,227 |
| " Wheat flour | 7,200 | 3,814 | 4,935 | 2,694 | 9,907 | 14,577 | 10,892 | 5,381 | 6,504 | 12,509 | 18,421 |
| " Bran of all kinds } | 1,683 | 1,462 | 1,332 | 737 | 768 | 2,156 | 1,662 | 1,015 | 1,189 | 1,482 | 2,902 |
| " Haricots | 10,533 | 4,959 | 7,554 | 1,096 | 757 | 8,750 | 6,153 | 8,019 | 7,463 | 9,052 | 19,195 |
| " Eggs | 4,832 | 4,944 | 3,983 | 3,364 | 2,274 | 2,844 | 3,766 | 3,609 | 2,973 | 3,429 | 4,312 |
| " Fish | 4,058 | 5,461 | 4,215 | 2,805 | 2,719 | 1,938 | 2,330 | 3,035 | 2,167 | 1,191 | 1,467 |
| Petroleum(crude, refined, and benzine) } | 29,982 | 3,742 | 6,084 | 8,776 | 12,137 | 18,636 | 24,298 | 38,041 | 35,302 | 38,066 | 39,888 |
| Sugar | 3,599 | — | — | 136 | 1,361 | 936 | 895 | 1 | 1 | 232 | 2,019 |
| Wood | 14,887 | 14,399 | 19,656 | 20,253 | 25,628 | 26,540 | 24,044 | 25,494 | 28,442 | 24,055 | 24,462 |
| Wool (raw) | 1,766 | 1,857 | 1,855 | 2,282 | 3,247 | 2,762 | 1,396 | 1,081 | 1,513 | 1,629 | 1,742 |

TABLE III. EXPORTS TO PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES (MERCHANDISE ONLY)
VALUES IN THOUSANDS OF FRANCS

| <i>Countries.</i> | 1901. | 1902. | 1903. | 1904. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. |
|----------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| United Kingdom | 24,439 | 41,381 | 31,302 | 25,619 | 31,488 | 52,553 | 86,387 | 40,380 | 34,658 | 33,505 | 55,980 |
| Austria-Hungary | 49,135 | 44,123 | 49,192 | 52,764 | 41,055 | 31,878 | 32,730 | 25,990 | 115,030 | 37,284 | 62,874 |
| Belgium | 174,539 | 204,324 | 171,039 | 70,499 | 146,864 | 152,495 | 134,061 | 105,771 | 121,297 | 226,242 | 263,468 |
| Bulgaria | 3,108 | 2,769 | 2,985 | 5,554 | 6,614 | 3,927 | 3,010 | 3,569 | 4,391 | 5,391 | 5,945 |
| France | 9,848 | 11,401 | 10,311 | 8,659 | 18,551 | 28,175 | 32,424 | 27,789 | 27,502 | 46,875 | 48,879 |
| Germany | 39,468 | 19,752 | 14,588 | 19,605 | 34,675 | 23,780 | 56,078 | 24,567 | 26,604 | 24,281 | 33,008 |
| Greece | 1,526 | 1,349 | 1,139 | 1,457 | 2,411 | 1,056 | 498 | 631 | 666 | 896 | 807 |
| Holland | 11,729 | 13,356 | 28,865 | 34,818 | 83,400 | 54,840 | 91,729 | 60,020 | 49,491 | 99,111 | 76,907 |
| Italy | 18,025 | 20,167 | 27,025 | 21,615 | 47,193 | 91,274 | 44,366 | 34,379 | 33,998 | 68,672 | 49,592 |
| Russia | 6,284 | 5,586 | 6,195 | 6,036 | 3,867 | 2,723 | 5,703 | 7,891 | 4,129 | 6,262 | 6,971 |
| Serbia | 1,097 | 931 | 1,112 | 1,004 | 847 | 724 | 898 | 829 | 1,310 | 758 | 716 |
| Spain | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | 2,121 | 742 | 3,312 | 4,737 |
| Switzerland | 1,275 | 427 | 349 | 78 | 35 | 214 | 50 | 158 | 80 | 113 | 193 |
| Turkey (incl. Egypt) | 11,592 | 8,020 | 10,625 | 7,828 | 15,097 | 30,781 | 35,247 | 28,336 | 28,360 | 27,398 | 35,747 |
| United States | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | 259 | 249 |
| Other countries | 1,766 | 1,233 | 903 | 6,336 | 25,004 | 16,940 | 30,838 | 17,000 | 16,799 | 36,146 | 45,647 |
| <i>Total</i> | 353,831 | 374,819 | 355,630 | 261,872 | 457,101 | 491,360 | 554,019 | 379,431 | 465,057 | 616,505 | 691,720 |

* Not separately distinguished. Included with 'Other countries'.

TABLE IV. PERCENTAGE OF VALUE OF EXPORTS TO
DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

| | 1901. | 1902. | 1903. | 1904. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| United Kingdom | 6.91 | 11.04 | 8.80 | 9.78 | 6.89 | 10.70 | 15.59 | 10.64 | 7.45 | 5.43 | 8.09 |
| Austria | 13.89 | 11.78 | 13.83 | 20.15 | 8.88 | 6.49 | 5.91 | 6.85 | 24.74 | 6.05 | 9.09 |
| Belgium | 49.32 | 54.51 | 48.09 | 26.92 | 32.13 | 31.04 | 24.20 | 27.83 | 26.08 | 36.69 | 38.09 |
| Egypt | 0.02 | 0.17 | 0.33 | 0.58 | 0.22 | 0.57 | 0.78 | 2.37 | 1.48 | 1.43 | 2.13 |
| France | 2.78 | 3.04 | 2.90 | 3.31 | 4.06 | 5.73 | 5.85 | 7.32 | 5.91 | 7.60 | 7.07 |
| Germany | 11.15 | 5.27 | 4.10 | 7.49 | 7.58 | 4.84 | 10.12 | 6.47 | 5.72 | 3.94 | 4.77 |
| Holland | 3.32 | 3.56 | 8.12 | 13.31 | 18.25 | 11.16 | 16.56 | 15.82 | 10.65 | 16.07 | 11.12 |
| Italy | 5.09 | 5.38 | 7.60 | 8.25 | 10.32 | 18.57 | 8.01 | 9.06 | 7.31 | 11.14 | 7.16 |
| Russia | 1.78 | 1.49 | 1.74 | 2.30 | 0.85 | 0.55 | 1.03 | 2.08 | 0.89 | 1.02 | 1.01 |
| Turkey | 3.26 | 1.97 | 2.66 | 2.41 | 3.09 | 5.69 | 5.58 | 5.10 | 4.62 | 3.02 | 3.04 |

TABLE V. PERCENTAGE OF QUANTITY OF EXPORTS TO
DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

| | 1901. | 1902. | 1903. | 1904. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| United Kingdom | 8.73 | 12.53 | 9.78 | 10.66 | 7.22 | 11.83 | 16.33 | 11.78 | 8.66 | 7.26 | 10.10 |
| Austria | 13.99 | 11.90 | 14.40 | 20.82 | 9.22 | 7.74 | 7.42 | 10.22 | 22.23 | 8.40 | 10.79 |
| Belgium | 54.88 | 54.18 | 46.84 | 23.60 | 29.31 | 28.43 | 20.47 | 22.38 | 23.07 | 32.28 | 33.99 |
| Egypt | 0.01 | 0.27 | 0.51 | 0.89 | 0.32 | 0.42 | 1.28 | 3.71 | 2.50 | 2.54 | 3.57 |
| France | 2.23 | 2.74 | 3.03 | 4.17 | 5.84 | 6.25 | 7.17 | 7.96 | 6.80 | 7.67 | 6.53 |
| Germany | 4.57 | 4.12 | 3.15 | 6.16 | 6.76 | 4.63 | 9.71 | 5.54 | 4.86 | 3.54 | 4.41 |
| Holland | 3.84 | 3.95 | 8.29 | 13.93 | 17.98 | 11.51 | 15.70 | 14.74 | 10.85 | 15.60 | 10.83 |
| Italy | 5.85 | 5.74 | 8.09 | 8.27 | 10.10 | 18.04 | 7.42 | 8.21 | 8.18 | 10.57 | 6.99 |
| Russia | 1.63 | 1.15 | 1.35 | 2.80 | 1.62 | 0.55 | 1.03 | 1.67 | 0.78 | 0.45 | 0.67 |
| Turkey | 1.49 | 1.31 | 1.95 | 2.20 | 3.04 | 4.93 | 4.88 | 5.24 | 4.74 | 2.83 | 2.76 |

TABLE VI. PRINCIPAL IMPORTS. VALUES (in thousands of francs).

| | 1902. | 1903. | 1904. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. | 1911. |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Coal, coke and peat | 5,883 | 5,847 | 5,883 | 6,202 | 6,036 | 10,931 | 9,026 | 7,339 | 7,789 | 8,322 |
| Iron and steel manufactures | 20,863 | 22,728 | 31,750 | 40,767 | 52,025 | 68,105 | 66,356 | 53,739 | 63,530 | 80,007 |
| Machinery | 15,705 | 17,527 | 25,741 | 25,354 | 38,926 | 44,281 | 37,561 | 32,101 | 39,219 | 59,156 |
| Vehicles | 600 | 859 | 1,700 | 3,415 | 23,563 | 12,740 | 13,546 | 7,715 | 11,289 | 37,974 |
| Cotton and jute yarns and tissues | 67,055 | 51,588 | 57,148 | 66,506 | 79,132 | 74,151 | 74,421 | 65,634 | 66,185 | 91,558 |
| Cotton and jute manufactures | 11,835 | 8,978 | 7,827 | 12,646 | 17,046 | 22,040 | 21,156 | 17,967 | 20,720 | 28,309 |
| Hides, leather, and leather manufactures | 15,041 | 12,050 | 10,074 | 10,275 | 15,978 | 14,063 | 15,534 | 13,565 | 14,919 | 23,023 |
| Wool and woollen manufactures | 32,663 | 19,212 | 23,449 | 28,520 | 37,600 | 36,061 | 37,833 | 31,472 | 36,246 | 51,130 |
| Silk and silk manufactures | 9,536 | 8,736 | 8,900 | 9,825 | 12,308 | 9,954 | 12,537 | 12,265 | 14,892 | 20,597 |
| Colonial fruit and provisions | 7,245 | 10,573 | 10,695 | 10,206 | 10,855 | 10,845 | 11,095 | 11,111 | 12,627 | 12,793 |
| Chemical products and manufactures | 6,678 | 5,341 | 5,983 | 6,451 | 8,014 | 6,529 | 7,640 | 7,860 | 8,279 | 9,483 |
| Live trees and wooden manufactures | 2,754 | 2,832 | 3,288 | 7,365 | 9,580 | 8,885 | 10,072 | 9,763 | 10,447 | 15,027 |

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MAPS

There are Rumanian maps on the scales of 1 : 50,000, 1 : 100,000, and 1 : 200,000. Of these the first covers the whole of Rumania except the Dobruja and western Wallachia. The second covers south-western Rumania from Buearest to the Black Sea and part of northern Moldavia. The third covers the whole of Rumania except the Dobruja and Wallachia west of Buearest, and there is a special map of the Dobruja on the same scale.

Rumania is covered by the War Office map on the scale of 1 : 1,000,000 (G.S.G.S. 2758, sheets North M 35, L 34, L 35, K 34, K 35). For historical boundaries and ethnography see Table and note on maps in *The Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series.

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